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Marchand and St. Denis

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

BEING A SEQUEL TO LETTERS OF
CAPTAIN ENGELBERT LUTYENS, ORDERLY
OFFICER AT LONGWOOD, SAINT HELENA,
FEB. 1820 TO NOV. 1823 : : EDITED BY

SIR LEES KNOWLES

BARONET, C.V.O., O.B.E., T.D., D.L., M.A., LL.M.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS.

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PREFACE

“ Not all the water in the rough, rude sea
Can wash the balm off an anointed king ;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord ” :

SHAKESPEARE.—*Richard II. Act iii. Scene 2.*

THIS BOOK IS DEDICATED TO
THE XX. REGIMENT OF FOOT, NOW THE LANCASHIRE FUSILIERS,
AND TO ALL STUDENTS OF NAPOLEONIC HISTORY !

Napoleon the First died on May 5th, 1821, aged 51 years, and Eugénie, the widow of Napoleon the Third, died on July 12th, 1920, aged 95 years, the former a prisoner, the latter a guest, of Great Britain : and thus, the connection between the First and Second Napoleonic Empires has come to an end within a period of one hundred years, and it seems fitting that there should be reference to the history, and of its makers, touching that period. That is some excuse for the production of this book, with a preface and an index, the former introducing the reader to the subject, like an avenue with its vista, and the latter pointing out the entrances, the exits, and the objects of interest, or the reverse. Except for these few lines, I would ask my readers to accept as the substantial preface the “ Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens ”¹, a book which has been well received.

It has been said that a compiler is liable to a hard fate, and that his labours are not infrequently used without adequate acknowledgment : yet, in recognising him, his authorities themselves may not be recognised. I would not willingly do injustice to anyone : so, I have tried to make due acknowledgments in my text. A critic, too, may do injustice by fault-finding, in order to parade his own knowledge, or, by withholding due praise, lest he should appear to be obtuse : thus, it happens, that a

¹ “ Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens ”, Orderly Officer at Longwood, St. Helena, February, 1820 to November, 1823. Published by John Lane, The Bodley Head, London, and John Lane Company, New York.

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pin-prick, or, to use an old phrase, a privy nip, may counterbalance all that is of value. I ask for kind consideration. I know that this book is of little literary importance : but, I offer it on the centenary of his death, in homage to the memory of a great man, and with the intention of filling up a gap, however small, in the history of his life—a trifling addition to the immense mass of the literature of Napoleon, who maintains his hold, even now, upon British imagination.

Hitherto, there has been little known of Marchand and St. Denis, two of the so-called lesser exiles of St. Helena. Here, I have given an outline of their lives, their portraits, and specimens of their handwriting. At the same time, I hope that I have proved, *inter alia*, that the lists from the will of Napoleon, etc., deposited in the British Museum, are in the handwriting of St. Denis, and that it was St. Denis who inscribed “ L’Empereur Napoléon ”, with its far-reaching consequences, in the three volumes of Coxe’s Life of Marlborough, a gift of Napoleon, an unique gift, from his death-bed, to the officers of the XX. Regiment, now the Lancashire Fusiliers.

As regards the portraits, I have had reproductions made from the group of exiles in the well-known picture of “ the death of Napoleon ” by Steuben. Marchand on the left, and St. Denis on the right, are gazing upon their dying master : and, on the wall, hangs a portrait of Napoleon’s only son, Napoleon the Second, created King of Rome, and best known by his Austrian title of Duc de Reichstadt.

There is a portrait of Marchand in “ Après la mort de l’Empereur ”, by Albéric Cahuet, facing page 60, and, as stated, another of him, with St. Denis, in the Steuben picture. I possess a beautiful oleograph copy of that picture, which is reproduced by Frédéric Masson in “ Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène ”, Volume II, facing page 222, and by Norwood Young in “ Napoleon in Exile ”, volume II, facing page 220. It was reproduced also in the Connoisseur for May, 1915, page 46 : and, there is an engraving of it by Henry Wolf, in the fourth volume of Sloane’s Life of Napoleon Bonaparte (New York, Century Co., 1906). The dimensions of my copy, inside the frame, are 3 feet 2 inches by 2 feet 7 inches. On the key, written in pencil, apparently in foreign handwriting, is the statement “ Le tableau appartenu à la Princesse Murat décédée à Londres, puis elle l’a donné à Lady Norfolk ”: and, printed in French, “ The night of 4th and 5th of May had been very disturbed, by an almost continuous delirium. The last articulate words that we could distinguish were ‘ France, Armée ’: the Emperor became silent. At four o’clock in the morning, calm followed this state of restlessness: the calm of courage and of resignation. The eye of the Emperor is fixed,

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his mouth compressed : some drops of sugar and water are inserted. Little by little the pulse slows down, a sigh escapes from the noble breast, hope revives in us. At eight o'clock, the French employed in the service of the Emperor enter the room, restraining their grief which is overbearing. Their feelings chilled by the silence of death, they arranged themselves near the bed which already we were surrounding. Our eyes fixed on the noble head of the Emperor turn away only to try to read in the eyes of Dr. Antommarchi, if any hope at all remained. It is in vain : pitiless death is there.

"At half-past five in the evening the gun for retreat sounds. The sun, sinking in floods of light, ceases to shine the moment the brilliant star which dominated the world begins to surround itself in immortal glory. The anxiety of the doctor redoubles. The hand which led to victory, and of which he takes the beats, is becoming chilled by death. Dr. Arnott counts the intervals between one breath and another : fifteen seconds, then thirty seconds, then sixty seconds, pass—the Emperor is gone.

"His lips are discoloured, the mouth is slightly contracted, the eyelids are rigid, the eyes are turned down, the expression is calm and suggestive of peace. At once, our sobs burst forth, with all the more force on account of their long suppression. The children of Madame Bertrand had come in at ten o'clock : they were recalled by their mother, who wished them to kiss the cold hand, which for six years had lavished caresses upon them. The scene of bereavement, which appeared before them, prevented them from bearing such dreadful agitation for any length of time. The eldest boy fainted, and it was necessary to remove him from this scene of sorrow. During this interval, Captain Crockat, with Dr. Arnott, entered, to verify the time of the death of the Emperor, his proceeding affecting his feelings. He withdraws with respect, and appears to offer excuses for having disturbed us in our grief. Shortly afterwards, two English doctors follow him, place their hands on the heart of the victim, and depart coldly, to certify the evidence of the officer.

"Thus, the Emperor Napoleon passed away, surrounded by his faithful servants, but not by those natural objects of affection which a man would look for in his last moments, a mother, a wife, a son." (Extract from the unpublished souvenirs of M. Marchand, 1st Valet de chambre of the Emperor.)

Frédéric Masson states that the original picture was painted with the approval of the companions of the Emperor, and that their portraits in it are from life. The face of Napoleon was reproduced probably

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from the celebrated death-mask, as I can find no trace of an ear. According to *Petit Larousse illustré*, Charles Baron de Steuben was a German historical-painter, born at Bauerbach, Baden, in 1788, and he died in 1856. In answer to my inquiries about him, correspondents of "Notes & Queries" for September 4th and 25th, 1920, kindly supplied the further information, that he was the son of a lieutenant-colonel in the Russian army, and that, after studying at the St. Petersburg Academy, he went to Paris, where he became a pupil of Gérard, Robert Lefèvre, and Prud'hon. First brought into the public eye by his painting of "Peter the Great on the Lake of Ladoga during a tempest", he subsequently obtained the cross of the Legion of Honour, and a Barony. He revisited Russia during his declining years, but returned to Paris where he died. Other Napoleonic subjects painted by him were, "The Return from Elba", "Napoleon at Waterloo", and "Napoleon dictating his Memoirs to General Gourgaud": and, he painted many portraits of the Emperor's nobility. Moreover, he was an assiduous antiquary. In "Napoleon in Exile", mentioned above, volume I., facing page 18, is a picture entitled "Napoleon's reception by the 7th Regiment at Grenoble" from a print by Jazet, after Steuben.

Mr. Andrew de Ternant, whose family dropped, after the French Revolution, the titles of Baron et Comte de Ternant et de la Motte, informs me, that Charles Baron de Steuben was a protégé of Stephanie de Beauharnais, Grand Duchess of Baden, and that he went to Paris about the year 1807. His title of Baron was a Napoleonic creation. He left Paris after Napoleon's first abdication, and did not return until 1831. His picture of the "Death of Napoleon" was frequently engraved in Paris from 1831 to 1835, and it was given in a "supplement" in some French journals of the period. He was in Florence from 1823-25, during which time he was patronised by Madame Mère (Napoleon's mother). This is probably the period of the picture, for it was executed in Italy at the expense of Madame Mère. The original was on view at a Parisian picture-dealer's exhibition during the Spring of 1835, and it may be now in some collection in France. Mr. de Ternant says that his maternal grandmother, who passed away in her sleep in the winter of 1814 just a few weeks before reaching her 100th birthday, had a framed copy of the oleograph in her bedroom: it was presented by Baron de Steuben to her father, the brother of the great-grandfather of the victorious General Weygand. The first impression was limited to twenty copies, and all, with the exception of three for the artist, were

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reserved strictly for relatives and connections by marriage of the dead Emperor.

I was unable to obtain help from the posthumous memoirs of Princess Caroline Murat as to the French inscription, to the effect that a Princess Murat on her death had given my picture to a member of the Norfolk family. Mr. de Ternant, however, has sent me the following note : " The Princess Murat—Caroline—you are in search of, according to the *Almanach de Gotha*, 1883, page 301-2, was a Scottish lady, née Fraser, born April 13th, 1810, died February 10th, 1879. She was the daughter-in-law of Napoleon's sister. The " Lady Norfolk " was probably a former Duchess of Norfolk—Augusta, daughter of the first Lord Lyons—and mother of the late Duke. Miss Fraser, if not originally a Roman Catholic, must have become one to have married into the Murat family, of which the first Lord Lyons was a great friend ".

My copy of the picture was presented, according to Messrs. Christie, Manson & Woods, by Millicent, Duchess of Sutherland, to their Red Cross Sale of April 16th, 1915 : but, it has escaped her memory. It was bought by Mr. James McLean, re-presented and sold, and I bought it at the Red Cross Sale held by the same Auctioneers on April 15th, 1916. I think, now, that I have discovered the Princess Murat who died in London, and the member of the Norfolk family to whom she gave the copy. It is probably safe to say that Comte Bertrand first suggested the original painting to Baron de Steuben, and that he and Dr. O'Meara corrected the grouping of the figures in the first rough sketch.

LEES KNOWLES.

Westwood, Pendlebury,
and
Turton Tower, Bolton.
Lancashire,
1921.

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A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

CHAPTER I.

NAPOLEON was the most powerful man of his time ; but, from the day that he set foot upon St. Helena, his power was rapidly on the wane. Disease had marked him—worn out in mind and body—for her own. He had been deserted by his friends, not only by those who had sat with him at his table and partaken of his munificence, but also by those who had gathered up even the crumbs. The keen tooth of ingratitude had entered into his soul, like the cancer which was gnawing at his body. The human rats had left the sinking ship—a sign of the abandonment of hope—and showed no sign of an intention to return. His wife was living apart from him, forgetful, and more than forgetful, of the love of her husband, and of their child, his son and heir, who was at a strange court, kept there in ignorance so far as possible, even of his parentage, and of his proper place in the world. Only one woman stayed till the bitter end, and she was by birth not a French, but a British, subject. Yet, in the little group of exiles, there were those who were faithful, and in those few, two of the humblest—call them two of the lesser exiles, if you will—were faithful to the end. Better to have no friends than false friends, better no friend than one who fawns upon you in prosperity, and turns his back upon you in adversity ! So, in the life of Napoleon, Marchand and St. Denis stand out as conspicuous illustrations of fidelity.

Marchand was the first valet, and St. Denis was the second valet and custodian of the library. It was Marchand who received the last instructions of Napoleon : it was he who was the chosen bearer of his keepsakes. In his hands were placed the keys, to his keeping was entrusted the will : and Marchand, the first valet of the exile, was appointed one of the executors of the Emperor.

Hear the last story, as told, in effect, by Monsieur Frédéric Masson ! No one had informed Napoleon that the doctors in consultation had decided to give him calomel, a preparation of mercury, because everyone knew his

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aversion to all attempted remedies, and it was agreed not to tell him. Marchand strove with them, not willing to deceive his master : but, at last, he yielded, and then only on account of the remark of Count Bertrand, the Grand Marshal, " it is this, either the trial of a last possible resource, or the loss of the Emperor. We must not leave it as a reproach to ourselves that we have not done everything that, humanly speaking, could have been done to save him". So, dissolving the powder in water and sugar (*eau sucrée*), Marchand presents the glass to the Emperor, who swallows the contents with difficulty, tries to throw up the mouthful which he has taken, and, then, turning toward Marchand, he says, in a reproachful voice, full of affection impossible to describe, and addressing him in the French second person singular, the " thou " of friendship next to the " I " of self, so difficult to translate into English, " and thou too, deceivest me ! " How vividly this recalls the recorded dying words of Cæsar, when stabbed by Marcus Brutus, his own familiar friend, " *et tu Brute !* " Marchand, beside himself, goes out, and he does not return for a time, and then, only when, half an hour later, the Emperor asks again for something to drink, and, taking with trust a little water and sugar, he says, " It is good, it is very good ".

That man is the nobler who accepts misfortune, rather than fortune, with a smile : one who does not repine, although injustice may allow no chance of defence. Nothing is harder to bear than a sense of injustice that finds no vent for expression ! There is no doubt that Napoleon suffered in silence, and that his pain was greater in mind than in body : but, he refused to show his emotion in public. A brave man never proclaims the misery of his soul, his honour and his dignity forbid it. The body can be crushed, but not the soul : and, it is in that fact that the superman feels his strength. The fallen mighty, the lion at bay, surrounded by a pack of snarling, snapping, cowardly curs, maintains his dignity, and, in his death, Napoleon showed the dignity of dying greatness to the puny littleness of a staring and a gaping world.

Since the Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens, Orderly Officer at Longwood, St. Helena, were published, I have been able to obtain some further information of interest in connection with them. Those letters were official reports in which it was the duty of their writer to detail all events, however trivial, which came under his notice ; and, although they may contain little, or nothing, of historical importance, yet by their homeliness, they enable the reader to form a good idea of the life of Napoleon, and they show, like the proverbial straw, the way the wind blew at Longwood, in portraying the daily routine during the last few months of the Emperor's life. Their historical sidelights may be mere

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flickers, but they have afforded some illumination for appreciative readers. Lutyens received his appointment as Orderly Officer at Longwood on February 10th, 1820, and he resigned it on April 15th, 1821, about three weeks before the death of Napoleon, which occurred on Saturday, May 5th, 1821. His work as Orderly Officer was much more onerous than that of any of his predecessors, for, at that time, illness induced Napoleon to live in greater seclusion, the chief reasons for it being largely the resentment of Napoleon due to the harsh restrictions with which he was hedged about by the pedantry and stupidity of the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, and to the refusal of the British Government to accede to his claim that it was his right to use, and to be addressed by, the title of Emperor. The episode in the life of Captain Lutyens of especial importance was his removal by the Governor on account of two differences, which might easily have been adjusted, namely, a dispute with a superior officer, and the acceptance from Napoleon of books inscribed with the title of Emperor. The books contained the dedication "L'Empereur Napoléon", but not in Napoleon's handwriting, and Lowe ordered Lutyens to return them, and to pretend that he did not know how, or why, they came into his possession. The consequences of the gift, related fully in the "Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens", is a sad story, and Sir Hudson Lowe comes out of it badly, for, as a writer in the "Athenæum" justly remarked, he appears as a mean and suspicious martinet, who behaved to Lutyens, his victim, with great want of candour. It was cruel fortune for Lutyens that, by his dismissal, he lost promotion, a trip to England, and the reward of £500 for carrying the dispatches announcing the Emperor's death, which duty devolved upon Captain William Crokat, also of the XX. Regiment of Foot, who succeeded Lutyens for about three weeks, from April 15th to May 7th, 1821, including the final week of Napoleon's life.

At the time that the "Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens" were published, the volumes of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough" were not available. The plate, and other objects of value, of the Officers' Mess of the 1st Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers, formerly the XX. Regiment of Foot, had been placed in storage, in view of active service in the great war; and, it was only when some of the surviving officers returned home on leave that the books could be found. Thanks to their kindness, and my thanks are especially due to Air-Commodore L. E. O. Charlton, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Lt.-Colonel S. F. McI. Lomer, O.B.E., Lt.-Colonel H. V. S. Ormond, Lt.-Colonel C. de Putron, Major B. Smyth, O.B.E., M.V.O., and Major R. R. Willis, V.C., I have been permitted to examine

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again those books thoroughly, and I am able to give further information about them.

For the sake of clearness, there are quoted here the following letters, written by the Orderly Officer at Longwood to Major Gideon Gorrequer (1781-1841), the Aide-de-Camp and Acting Military-Secretary to Sir Hudson Lowe, the Governor, telling how the book, Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", was given to the XX Regiment.

Longwood, 15th April, 1821.

Sir,

Yesterday evening, during the time I was with the Governor, a servant of the Establishment left in my apartments Coxe's "Life of the Duke of Marlborough", the meaning of which I did not understand until I saw Doctor Arnott, after he came from visiting General Bonaparte, who informed me General Bonaparte had been talking about English soldiers, and *all of a sudden* he said he would make the Library of the 20th Regiment a present of the History of the Duke of Marlborough, one of the best English Generals, and immediately ordered Marchand to get it, and then ordered it to be brought to me¹.

Doctor Arnott has just come from General Bonaparte, who, he thinks, is a little better this morning.

I remain, Sir,

Yours truly,

E. Lutyens.

To Major Gorrequer, etc., etc., etc.

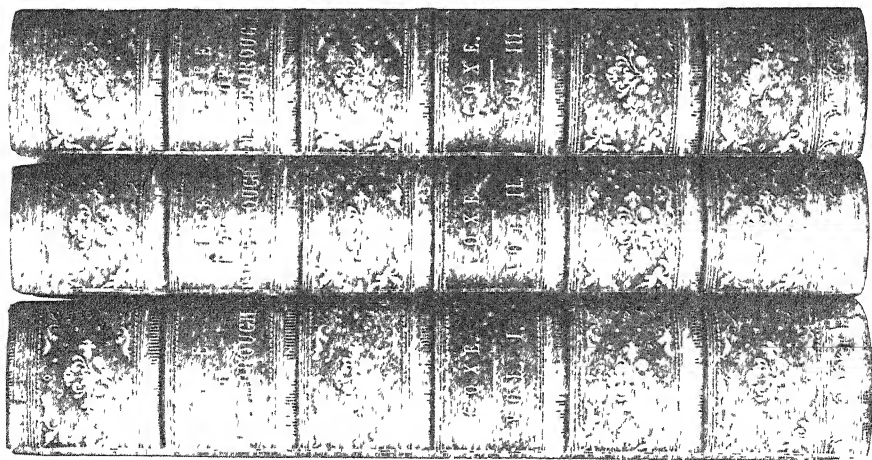
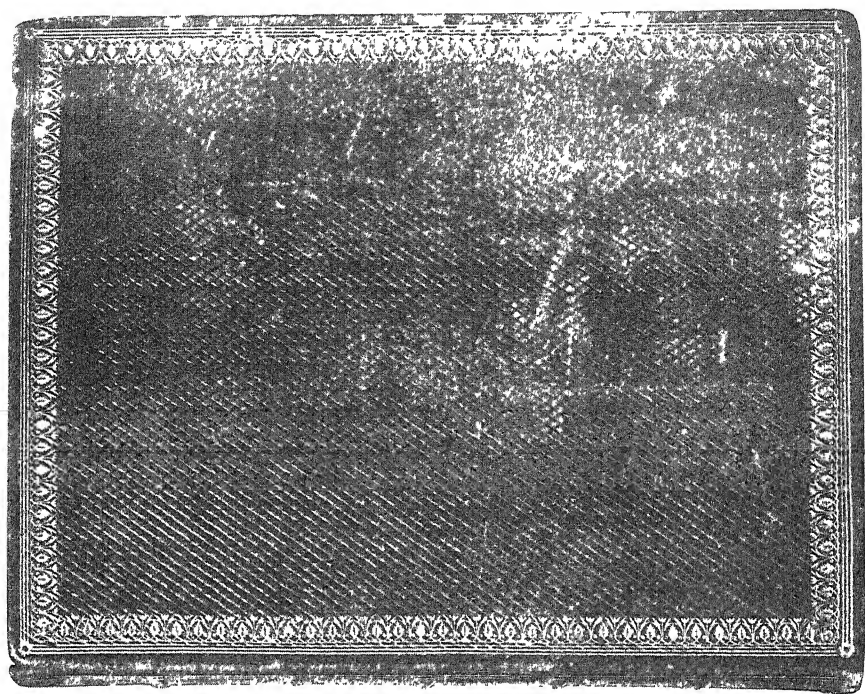
P.S.—I shall keep the books until I hear from you. The subject of the books is only known to Arnott and myself.

E. L.

Pencil note.—Mem : in the margin.

Doctor Arnott, who brought the above note from Captain Lutyens, was desired to tell him to send the books to Plantation House, for the Governor to look at.

¹ The result of the presentation of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", by Napoleon to the officers of the 20th Regiment, was the removal from duty at Longwood of Captain Engelbert Lutyens.



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Longwood, 15th April, 1821.

Sir,

Countess Bertrand * * * * mentioned she had heard that General Bonaparte had given to the 20th Library the "Life of the Duke of Marlborough", the whole of which the General now had translated into French¹ by Count Bertrand.

Doctor Arnott was with General Bonaparte last evening. He found him much the same as in the morning. He asked the Doctor how the Officers liked the books; but, something occurred in the room, by which means he did not answer².

* * * *

E. Lutyens.

To Major Gorrequer, etc., etc., etc.

P.S.—I have forwarded the books³.

Forsyth, referring to the three volumes, acknowledges that "Napoleon's kindly-meant present might, in the circumstances, have been accepted. He did not send them as coming from 'the Emperor', nor write the objectionable title in them; nor was there much likelihood of a British Regiment being seduced from its allegiance by adding to its library a few books, the gift of Napoleon", and, the late Mr. R. C. Seaton wrote that one must agree with the remarks of Forsyth, adding "it does not appear that he—Napoleon—ever heard of the fate of his present; but, if he had, there is no doubt that he would have felt what had happened as a deliberate insult".

Norwood Young, in "Napoleon in Exile at St. Helena (1815–1821)", Vol. II., page 215, referring to the circumstances of the gift, says, "he (Napoleon) then began to praise British soldiers, and finally said he would present to the officers of the 20th, Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", which had been given him by the Hon. Robert Spencer, in the previous October. Spencer had touched at St. Helena on the way home from the East. . . . Napoleon had always admired Marlborough. . . . He was much interested in the biography, and made Madame Bertrand translate the greater part of the two⁴ volumes into French, for his reading.

¹ Where is this French translation? Perhaps it was *viva voce*.

² This would appear to be an evasion.

³ Coxe's Life of Marlborough, in three volumes.

⁴ Two is an error for three.

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Spencer wrote in the first volume :—

Hunc de Proavi rebus gestis librum
Napoleoni mittit
Ducis Marlburgiensis Pronepos
Robertus Spencer

A.D. 1817¹.

Somebody had added the words 'l'Empereur Napoléon'. Perhaps this was done by Bertrand, or Montholon".

This Latin inscription may be translated—

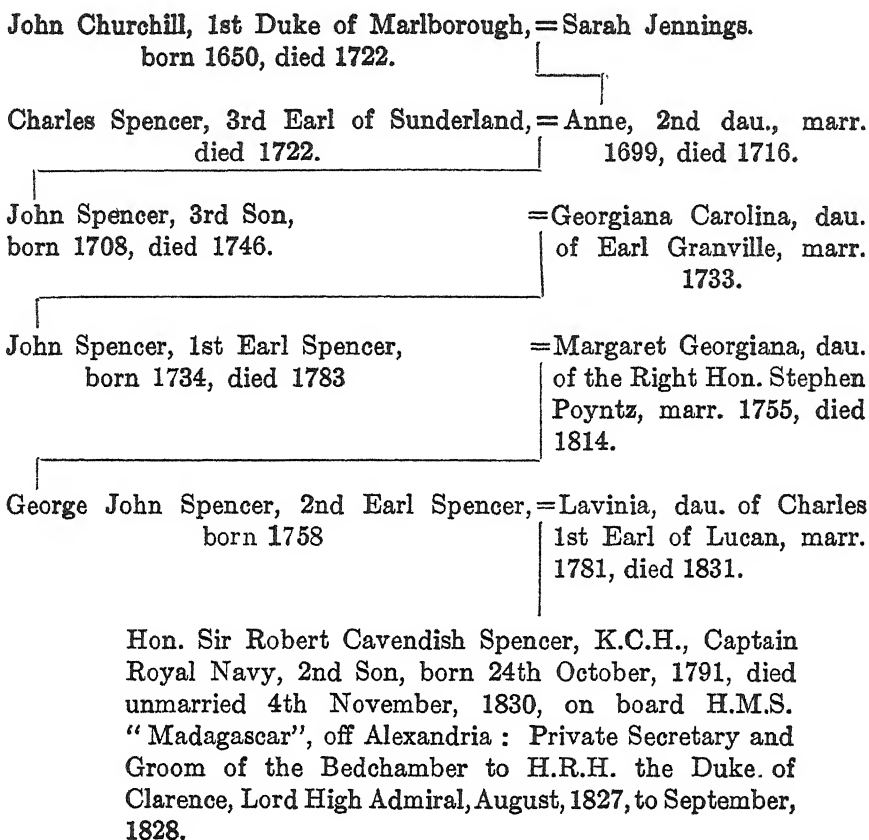
Robert Spencer, a great-grandson of the Duke of Marlborough, sends this book, narrating the deeds of his ancestor, to Napoleon, A.D. 1817¹. It is to be found in the British Museum, Additional Manuscripts, Volume 20,128, folio 509.

The lines are written in a studied, clerk-like, hand, and, they have been copied by someone not well-versed in Latin : for, in the last line, Ducis appears to be written Ducio, the last syllable is separated from the other syllables of the next word, and Robertus Spencer appears to be written as Tholertus Spenen. Apparently, the copyist had before him the original inscription, and its writing was somewhat illegible. A writer, quoting from memory, would not have made these mistakes. Where is the original fly-leaf ? What authority is there for saying that it was torn out of Volume I. of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough" ? Binders say that there is no page missing from that volume. And, why does Norwood Young, Vol. II., page 215, when quoting this document, give its date as "A.D. 1817", instead of "1819", which is the date given in the inscription ?

The Honourable Robert Spencer, commanding H.M.S. Owen Glendower, arrived at S. Helena on October 25th, 1820. Mr. Charles Harold Athill, Clarenceux King of Arms, has been so kind as to supply me with a pedigree showing his connection with the Marlborough family :—

¹ 1817 is an error for 1819.

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The three volumes of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", I have submitted to Mr. Francis Edwards, the well-known bookseller, and also to Mr. G. F. Ayling, the well-known bookbinder, and, after careful examination, they describe them as follows :—Demi-quarto, full diced-calf, gilt backs, and gilt borders. They point out that the title-page of Volume I. has been damaged and mounted, and a paper-guard has been fastened in, to carry letters. No fly-leaf has been removed, such as might have borne the above-mentioned Latin inscription : in fact, such inscription was never on an original fly-leaf of the volumes.

With regard to the handwriting of Napoleon, the following extract from the "Foreign Reminiscences" of Henry Richard Lord Holland, edited by his son, Henry Edward Lord Holland, dated 1850, page 291, is worth notice :—

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His proficiency in literature has been variously stated. He had read much, but had written little. In the mechanical part he was certainly no adept ; his handwriting was nearly illegible. Some would fain persuade me that that fault was intentional, and merely an artifice to conceal his bad spelling ; that he could form his letters well if he chose, but was unwilling to let his readers know too exactly the use he made of them. His orthography was certainly not correct ; that of few Frenchmen, not professed authors, was so thirty years ago : but, his brothers Lucien and Lewis, both literary men, and both correct in their orthography, write a similar hand, and nearly as bad a one as he did, probably for the same reason, namely, that they cannot write a better without great pains and loss of time.

Napoleon, when Consul and Emperor, seldom wrote, but he dictated much. It was difficult to follow him, and he often objected to any revision of what he had dictated. When a word had escaped his amanuensis, and he was asked what it was, he would answer somewhat pettishly, "*Je ne répéterai pas le mot. Réfléchissez, rappelez vous du mot que j'ai dicté, et écrivez-le, car pour moi je ne le répéterai pas¹*". Talleyrand, interested possibly in discrediting any posthumous writings, was very earnest, soon after the news of his death arrived, in inculcating on me and others the persuasion that Napoleon never did and never could dictate. "*Il disait, il ne dictait pas ; on ne pouvait écrire sous sa dictée. Il ne savait ni dicter ni écrire²*"... But, excepting Talleyrand and Charles IV. of Spain, I never heard anyone express a doubt of his powers of composition, or his habits of dictating. It was, indeed, difficult to follow and yet more difficult to satisfy him in the discharge of that office ; but M. Bignon and others—Cambacérès, Barbé-Marbois, Daru, Las Cases, Bertrand, and many more—inured themselves to his manner. In matters of importance he would look over and correct what had been written from his dictation, and would afterwards repeat word for word the sentences he had composed and revised. His style was clear. "*Soyez clair, tout le reste viendra³*", was a maxim of his. In matters of business, he very justly ridiculed and defied that absurd canon of French criticism which forbids the recurrence of a word twice in the same sentence, or even page.

¹ Translation : "I will not repeat the word. Think, and recall the word that I dictated, and write it down ; for, I tell you, I will not repeat it".

² Translation : "he said he did not dictate ; his dictation could not be taken down in writing. He knew neither how to dictate, nor how to write".

³ Translation : "be clear, and all the rest will follow".

MEMOIRS
OF
JOHN DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH.

WITH HIS
ORIGINAL CORRESPONDENCE

FROM THE FAMILY RECORDS AT BLENHEIM

OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES

WITH PORTRAITS, MAPS, AND MILITARY PLANS

BY WILLIAM COXE, M.A. F.R.S. F.S.A.

RECIDEN IN DEUT

VOL. III

LONDON

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME AND BROWN,

15, PATERNOSTER ROW

1819

Title Page with the inscription "l'Empereur Napoléon "

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It is obvious that the inscription "L'Empereur Napoléon" was not written by the Emperor. Many fac-similes of his handwriting may be seen in the beautiful Napoleonic volume printed by the collector, John Sainsbury entitled, "The Napoleon Museum, the History of France illustrated, from Louis XIV. to the end of the Reign and Death of the Emperor", which I searched in vain for fac-similes of the handwriting of Marchand and St. Denis. In this connection, it may be of interest to state that my copy bears the date 1845. The figure five (V) has been added both on the back, as well as on the title-page of the book, as I understand that the volume was ready for publication in 1840 (MDCCCXL), but not issued actually until five years later (MDCCCXLV). On the fly-leaf, in the handwriting of the author, is the statement, in allusion to Napoleon, "the eagle and the bee are emblematical of soaring and of industry".

CHAPTER II.

INSCRIPTION OF THE GIFT.

IF it must be admitted that the handwriting of the inscription in the three volumes is not that of Napoleon, a fact obvious to any Napoleonic student, then, whose is it? I have in my possession a copy of the Catalogue of the books of the late Mr. A. M. Broadley. There was no handwriting, however, in that volume which seemed to be of help. And so, I placed myself into communication with some of the Napoleonic specialists, whose opinions were likely to be of value. These included Dr. Arnold Chaplin, the late Mr. Birney Fickling, Rev. E. Brook Jackson, the Hon. J. W. Fortescue, Dr. J. Holland Rose and Mr. Norwood Young.

I wrote, also, to Mr. John Lane, sending him a copy of the photograph of the inscription in the volumes, which he forwarded with my letter to his friend Monsieur Pierre Amédée Pichot, from whom he received a letter of which the following is an extract :—

132 Boulevard Haussmann, Paris, April 20th, 1916.

Dear Mr. Lane,

I thank you very much indeed for sending a copy of Sir Lees Knowles's volume¹, so beautifully got up, and I daresay Masson will like it too. In bringing before him the object of your letter, I found he was well acquainted with the work and he believes that the inscription on the volumes² presented to the XX. Regiment is by the hand of Marchand, or may be of Saint Denis, another of Napoleon's officials. Both writings are so very much alike that it is difficult to say which is which. The inscription "l'Empereur Napoléon" used to be put on all the books of the library, and it is from that library that the dying Emperor caused the three volumes he placed in Arnott's hands to be

¹ The Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens.

² Coxe's "Life of Marlborough".

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drawn. The whole particulars of the fact have been related by Frédéric Masson in his history of Napoléon à Ste Hélène (Ollendorf, edition in 8vo, 1912, page 459), by which it appears that the work sent to the English Regiment was the French translation, printed by order of the Emperor at the Imperial Printing Office in the year 1806. Thus Sir Lees Knowles's statement that the book had been given to Napoleon in October, 1820 by the Honourable Robert Spencer (page 109 of the Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens), and the query in the note, page 110, "where is the translation", should not be correct. Masson has two copies, and it is not at all a scarce book¹."

It would appear that Monsieur Frédéric Masson, and other writers have confused two works relating to Marlborough, one printed about 1806 in France, and the other printed about 1819 in England, the former in French, the latter in English. The following observations, relating to the former, will help to explain the probable cause of confusion.

In the John Rylands Library, Manchester, is a copy of the History of "Jean Churchill". It is in three volumes inscribed *Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough : imprimé par les soins de J. J. Marcel, Directeur général de l'Imprimerie impériale, Membre de la Légion d'honneur*. In the first volume, the Duke is described as "Duc de Marlborough, Prince du Saint Empire Romain et de Mindelheim, Capitaine Général des Forces Angloises et Hollandoises sous la Reine Anne, Grand-maitre de l'Artillerie, etc., etc." : and in the second and third volumes as "Duc de Marlborough, Prince du Saint Empire Romain et de Mindelheim, Capitaine Général des troupes Angloises sous la Reine Anne, Grand-maitre de l'Artillerie, Commandant en Chef de l'Armée des Alliés, etc., etc.". On the fly-leaf of the first volume is a note in Lord Spencer's handwriting, "This book was sent as a present to my Father about the year 1809, or 1810, by the Emperor Napoleon : another copy was sent at the same time to the Prince Regent, and a third to the then Duke of Marlborough". (Signed) Spencer.

The first volume is dated as follows : "Tome Premier. A Paris, de l'Imprimerie Impériale. An XIII.=1805". The other volumes : "Tome Second. 1803", and "Tome Troisième. 1803".

Each title-page bears a quotation from Horace. Below is the Latin, with a translation taken from "The Odes and Epodes of Horace,

¹ There is evidently a confusion between two works. The three volumes of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough" bear the date 1819.

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selected by S. A. Courtauld", Book I., Ode VI., To Agrippa (M. Vipsanius Agrippa, the foremost war-minister of Augustus : commanded at the battle of Actium).

Quis Martem tunicâ tectum adamantinâ digne scripserit . . . ?

Whose harp the warlike Mars in mail arrayed . . . hath hymned aright ?

(Author) G. J. Whyte-Melville.

Or, from the works of Horace translated literally by C. Smart, "who with sufficient dignity will describe Mars covered with adamantine coat of mail, . . . ?"

In the first volume is a portrait of Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough, with his arms, and his autograph : and, it is stated "*cette signature a été calquée sur la signature originale du Duc*"¹. The Avant-propos, or Introduction, begins, "*Un grand homme appartient à tous les peuples, et à tous les siècles*"².

Upon inquiry as to the authority for the statement at the British Museum that the *Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough*, 3 tom. Paris, 1806., 8°. 10,817. bbb3., was "composed principally by Madgett, edited and enlarged by the Abbé J. F. H. Dutems", I received the following reply : "the authority for the statement respecting the authorship of '*Histoire de Jean Churchill*' is Barbier : '*Dictionnaire des ouvrages anonymes*', tom. 2. p. 674. '*Histoire de Jean Churchill, Duc de Marlborough* (composée principalement par Madgett, interprète au Ministère de la Marine, rédigée et augmentée par l'abbé H. Dutems)".

I received much kind help from Mr. J. P. Gilson, the Keeper of the Manuscripts and Egerton Librarian, and from Messrs. A. Hughes-Hughes and D. T. Baird Wood of his Department. Mr. Wood has an intimate connection with St. Helena, being a grandson of Major Thomas Montgomery Hunter of the St. Helena Artillery—Commission as Lieutenant 1810, Town-Major 1827—who died about 1860, having spent the end of his life at Portishead, near Clevedon, Somersetshire, where he had the small brass saluting-cannons from Longwood, and other Napoleonic relics. Mr. Wood wrote, "We do not seem to have any autograph of St. Denis, though there are copies of two of his letters in the Lowe papers", and he expressed his opinion that the inscription in the books was in the handwriting of St. Denis. Moreover, he showed the photographs to Mr. Gilson, who agreed that

¹ Translation : A tracing from an original signature of the Duke.

² Translation : A hero belongs to all nations, and all ages.

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all the inscriptions in the books—"L'Empereur Napoléon"—were by one hand, and that not the hand of Marchand. Dr. J. Holland Rose said that he did not know the handwriting, and feared, therefore, that he could not help me. Mr. Norwood Young wrote, "There are signatures of all the Longwood inmates among the Lowe papers at the British Museum, and also at the Record Office. An examination of these would lead to the identification of the handwriting you name. If you have already made these searches, I can offer no further suggestion". I had searched without success.

There were no autographs of Marchand and St. Denis in the "Collectanea Napoleonica", a Catalogue of the collection of autographs, historical documents, etc., relating to Napoleon I. and his times (1769-1821), formed by the late Mr. A. M. Broadley, now, I believe, in the possession of the Earl Curzon of Kedleston. In the preface, Mr. Broadley himself states that, taking the "Life" of Mr. Rose, and the "Last Phase" of Lord Rosebery as a basis, he had devoted the spare moments of four years, and a certain amount of constitutional energy, to extending the original three octavo volumes into twenty-eight folios. Moreover, Mr. Broadley adds, "as far as letters, state-documents, and other forms of MSS. are concerned, there is scarcely a single man or woman who played a part of the smallest importance in the great Napoleonic drama, whose calligraphy is not to be found in one or other of these twenty-eight volumes".

Among the Foreign Letters in the British Museum, relating to Sir Hudson Lowe, volume 15,729, folios 132-134, are two lists of the contents of boxes which Napoleon desired Marchand to hand to his son, the King of Rome. These are set out at length, with the contents of another box, in "La Captivité de Saint-Hélène d'après les rapports inédits du Marquis de Montchenu, Commissaire du Gouvernement du Roi Louis XVIII. dans L'Ile, par Georges Firmin-Didot, Secrétaire D'Ambassade", printed in Paris in 1894. In a note, the Author gives as his authority Archives Affaires étrangères, volume 1,805, folio 181, et suiv.:. An examination of the handwriting of those lists proves, I think, conclusively that they are written by the same hand as that which wrote the inscription "L'Empereur Napoléon" in the three Volumes of Coxe. The two lists which are to be found in the British Museum are reproduced in this book, and the letter "N" of the name Napoleon should be particularly noticed.

The following extract is taken from "La Captivité de Sainte-Hélène", page 320 :—

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“État des boîtes que Marchand doit remettre à mons fils.

Il consiste en trois boîtes acajou, Nos 1, 2, 3.

La première boîte No 1 est à double fond, a 15 pouces de long et contient :

Le premier fond 19 tabatières	..	..	..	..	..	..	19
Le second „ 14 „	..	..	..	..	..	..	14
							—
Total des tabatières	..	..	..	..	..	..	33

No.

1. La sagesse de Scipion, donnée par le pape Pie VII. à l'Empereur lors du couronnement.
2. Le roi de Rome enfant, tabatière dont l'Empereur a fait usage pendant plusieurs années.
3. Portrait de l'impératrice Joséphine, première femme de l'Empereur Napoléon.
4. Tabatière ovale longue, contenant 4 médailles où se trouve Jules César. L'Empereur s'est souvent servi de cette tabatière.
5. Tabatière ornée du portrait du roi et de la reine de Westphalie.
6. Petite boîte à cure-dents, ornée du portrait de Madame.
7. Tabatière quarrée, ornée de 5 médailles du moyen âge.
8. Tabatière quarrée, ornée d'un camée ; portrait de Madame fort ressemblant.
9. Boîte à odeur.
- 9². Bonbonnière, ornée du portrait de la reine de Naples, sœur de l'Empereur.
10. Tabatière ronde ; 4 portraits : l'impératrice Joséphine, le prince Eugène, la reine Hortense, le roi de Hollande.
11. Tabatière ovale, ornée de 3 médailles, parmi lesquelles se trouve celle de César. L'Empereur s'est souvent servi de cette tabatière.
12. Fédération de Milan ou création de la République Cisalpine, en 1797.
- 12². Tabatière quarrée, ornée d'une agate.
13. Tête d'Alexandre, camée antique.
14. Auguste et Livie : camée antique, le seul qui existe.
15. Tabatière ornée d'un camée : portrait de l'Empereur.
16. Portrait de Turenne.
17. Tabatière ornée de perles, offrant une vue de Laeken.

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Second fond.

18. Pierre I^{er}, empereur de Russie.
19. Plan de Vienne.
20. Deux portraits des deux nièces de l'Empereur, filles du roi Joseph.
21. Paysage en mosaïque.
22. Charlemagne.
23. Bataille de Marengo, donnée par la ville de Dieppe.
24. Bonbonnière, ornée du portrait de Madame.
25. Portrait du roi Joseph, frère aîné de l'Empereur.
26. Boîte d'or enrichie de diamants, donnée à l'Empereur par l'empereur de Perse.
27. Frédéric le Grand à Potsdam.
28. Une tête d'Alexandre.
29. Une boîte, pierre de lave, avec 3 médailles.
30. Le roi de Rome, priant Dieu pour la France et pour son père.
31. Portrait de l'impératrice Marie-Louise, tabatière que portait souvent l'Empereur.

Nota.—Dans plusieurs de ces boîtes, il existe des décorations de la Légion d'honneur, de la Couronne de Fer et de la Réunion que portait l'Empereur, et une grande croix de la Légion d'honneur."

[TRANSLATION.]

"Contents of the boxes which Marchand is to hand to my son.
They are enclosed in three mahogany boxes, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

The first box, No. 1, with two recesses, is 15 inches in length, and contains :

the first recess, 19 snuff-boxes	19
the second „ 14 „	14

Total number „	33
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1. The wisdom of Scipio, given by Pope Pius VII. to the Emperor at his coronation.
2. The King of Rome as a child, a snuff-box which the Emperor used for many years.
3. Portrait of the Empress Josephine, the first wife of the Emperor Napoleon.
4. A long oval snuff-box, containing four medallions, including Julius Cæsar. The Emperor used this snuff-box often.
5. A snuff-box ornamented with portraits of the King and Queen of Westphalia.

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6. A small tooth-pick box, ornamented with the portrait of Madame.
7. A square snuff-box, ornamented with five mediæval medallions.
8. A square snuff-box, ornamented with a cameo ; portrait, a striking likeness of Madame.
9. A perfume-box.
- 9². A sweet-meat box, ornamented with a portrait of the Queen of Naples, sister of the Emperor.
10. A round snuff-box ; four portraits : the Empress Joséphine, Prince Eugène, Queen Hortense, the King of Holland.
11. An oval snuff-box, ornamented with three medallions, among them one of Cæsar. The Emperor used this snuff-box often.
12. The Federation of Milan or the creation of the Cisalpine Republic, 1797.
- 12². A square snuff-box ornamented with an agate.
13. Head of Alexander, antique cameo.
14. Augustus and Livy : antique cameo, the only one in existence.
15. A snuff-box ornamented with a cameo : portrait of the Emperor.
16. Portrait of Turenne.
17. Snuff-box ornamented with pearls, showing a view of Laeken.

Second recess.

18. Peter the First, Emperor of Russia.
19. Plan of Vienna.
20. Two portraits of the two nieces of the Emperor, daughters of King Joseph.
21. Landscape in mosaic.
22. Charlemagne.
23. The Battle of Marengo, presented by the town of Dieppe.
24. Sweet-meat box, ornamented with a portrait of Madame.
25. Portrait of King Joseph, elder brother of the Emperor.
26. A gold box embellished with diamonds, given to the Emperor by the Emperor of Persia.
27. Frederick the Great at Potsdam.
28. A head of Alexander.
29. A box made of lava, with three medallions.
30. The King of Rome, praying to God for France and for his father.
31. A portrait of the Empress Marie-Louise, a snuff-box which the Emperor carried often.

Note.—In several of these boxes, there are decorations of the Légion d'honneur, of the Couronne de Fer and of the Réunion which the Emperor wore, and a grand cross of the Légion d'honneur ”.

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In the British Museum, among "Foreign letters", Volume 15,729, Folio 132, are two lists Nos. 2 and 3, list No. 1 being missing. There is no doubt that they are by the same hand that wrote "l'Empereur Napoléon" in Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", the initial capital letter 'N' in the lists, and in the name Napoleon, being noticeably alike. There is also, in the Additional Manuscripts at the British Museum, Volume 30,142, Folios 63-67, a beautifully-written document by the same hand. See "A Polish Exile with Napoleon", by G. L. de St. M. Watson, page 101. Herewith are copies of lists No. 2 and No. 3, with translations, which, with list No. 1, will be of use for collectors.

No. 2.

État des boîtes que Marchand doit remettre à mon fils.

1. Douze boîtes aux armes Impériales.
2. Deux petites lunettes, dont se servait l'Empereur à l'armée.
3. Une boîte No 1, en pierre de Russie, ornée d'un portrait.
4. Une boîte en ivoire.
5. Une chasse à Fontainebleau.
6. Une boîte d'or, avec un paysage en ivoire.

No. 3.

État d'une boîte que Marchand doit remettre à mon fils.

Trois tabatières, dont se servait l'Empereur à St. Hélène, savoir :

1. Une tabatière ornée de quatre médailles d'argent.
2. Une tabatière ornée de deux médailles d'argent.
3. Une tabatière ornée de trois médailles d'argent.
4. Deux cordons de la Légion d'honneur.
5. Une paire de boucles d'or à souliers, dont se servait l'Empereur à Ste Hélène.
6. Une boucle de col, ditto.
7. Une paire de boucles à jarretières.
8. Une bonbonnière en écaille.
9. Une grosse montre d'argent. Cette montre se mettait dans la voiture de l'Empereur en campagne.
10. Une petite lorgnette, du nombre de celles dont se servait l'Empereur à l'armée.
11. Un petit cachet aux armes de France.

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[TRANSLATION].

No. 2.

Contents of a box which Marchand is to hand to my son.

1. Twelve boxes with the Imperial arms.
2. Two small telescopes which the Emperor used in the field.
3. A box No. 1, of Russian marble, ornamented with a portrait.
4. An ivory box.
5. A Fontainebleau hunting-scene.
6. A gold box with a landscape in ivory.

No. 3.

Contents of a box which Marchand is to hand to my son.

Three snuff-boxes, which the Emperor used at St. Helena, namely :—

1. A snuff-box ornamented with four silver medallions.
2. A snuff-box ornamented with two silver medallions.
3. A snuff-box ornamented with three silver medallions.
4. Two cordons of the Legion of Honour.
5. A pair of gold shoe-buckles, which the Emperor wore at St. Helena.
6. A collar-buckle, ditto.
7. A pair of garter-buckles.
8. A mother-of-pearl sweet-meat box.
9. A large silver watch. This watch was carried in the Emperor's carriage during his campaigns.
10. A small telescope, one of a number of those used by the Emperor with the Army.
11. A small seal with the French arms.

It has been alleged that the Imperial waistcoat pockets were stained with snuff : but, this has been contradicted by Mademoiselle Bertrand, the daughter of Count Bertrand, who states that the stains were the result of a mixture of liquorice-powder and brown sugar, which Napoleon carried in his pockets, as a remedy for chronic indigestion, pretending to take it like snuff, but really slipping it into his mouth. The Emperor, although possessing many snuff-boxes, detested tobacco in any form.

CHAPTER III.
CORRESPONDENCE.

The following correspondence, is in itself sufficiently explicit, leading to the proof that the inscription in the three volumes of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough" is in the handwriting of St. Denis.

Bibliothèque Nationale,
Paris, le 19 Octobre, 1916.

Cher Monsieur, . . .

Je n'ai rien pu trouver pour Saint-Denis, à moins que l'inscription "l'Empereur Napoléon", qui se trouve sur les volumes dont je vais vous parler ne soit de sa main. Mais, pour Marchand, il y a au Département des Imprimés, non seulement une note de lui sur le faux-titre du T. I^{re} de la "Correspondance inédite officielle et confidentielle de Napoléon I^{re}" (Paris, 1809, 8°), mais encore, jointe au volume, une lettre de Marchand à Thiers.

L'inscription "l'Empereur Napoléon", et le timbre de la bibliothèque de l'Empereur sont plus nets en tête du second volume du même ouvrage. Je vous propose donc de vous faire photographier.

1° La lettre, ou partie de la lettre, de Marchand (dans le T. I^{re}.)

2° L'inscription, et le timbre, d'après le Tome II.

* * * *

Léon Dorez.

[TRANSLATION].

Dear Sir, . . .

I have not been able to find anything of St. Denis, unless the inscription "the Emperor Napoleon", to be found in the volumes of which I shall speak, is in his writing. But, with regard to Marchand, there is, in the Department of Printed Matter, not only a note by him on the fly-leaf of the 1st volume of the "Unpublished Official and Confidential Correspondence of Napoleon 1st" (Paris, 1809, 8°), but also, attached to the volume, a letter from Marchand to Thiers.

The inscription "the Emperor Napoleon", and the stamp of the Emperor's library, are clearer at the beginning of the second volume of

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the above work. I propose, therefore, to have photographed for you :

1. The letter, or part of the letter, by Marchand, in the first volume.
2. The inscription, and the stamp, from the second volume.

* * * *

Léon Dorez.

Direction des Archives,
Archives Nationales,

Paris, le 2 Mars, 1917.

Monsieur,

En réponse à votre lettre du 17 février, j'ai le regret de vous faire connaître, après recherche, que les Archives nationales ne paraissent pas posséder d'autographe de Saint Denis, bibliothécaire de Napoléon I^{er}, et que nous n'avons pas par suite le moyen de vous aider à identifier l'auteur de l'inscription que portent les volumes de la bibliothèque de Sainte-Hélène. Peut-être M. Frédéric Masson, membre de l'Académie française, serait-il en mesure de vous mieux renseigner.

* * * *

Le Directeur des Archives,
(Signed) Charles V. Langlois.

[TRANSLATION.]

Direction des Archives,
Archives Nationales,

Paris, March 2nd, 1917.

Sir,

In reply to your letter of February 17th, I regret to inform you, after a search, that the National Archives do not appear to possess the autograph of Saint Denis, librarian of Napoleon I., and that, consequently, we have no means of assisting you in identifying the author of the inscription contained in the volumes from the library of St. Helena.

Perhaps M. Frédéric Masson, member of the Académie française, would be in a position to give you better information.

* * * *

(Signed) Charles V. Langlois.

To D. T. B. Wood, Esq., M.A.,
Manuscript Department,
British Museum.

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4, Park Street,
London, W.1.,
April 2nd, 1917.

To Monsieur Frédéric Masson, etc., etc., etc.

Sir,

Will you permit me to address you, as a great authority on the history of Napoleon, to ask if you will have the kindness to assist in a research that I am making, which relates to him.

I have in my possession a book which belonged to the Emperor when he was at St. Helena. On the title-page is the following manuscript inscription, "L'Empereur Napoléon". It is my desire to find out the name of the person who wrote it. I believe it to have been written by St. Denis.

It is possible that you may be able to see, or to obtain, an authentic specimen of the handwriting of St. Denis, so that I can compare it with the inscription.

* * * *

Lees Knowles.

15 Rue de la Baume,
Paris,
le 4 Avril, 1917.

Monsieur,

Je possède moi-même des livres provenant de Sainte Hélène, et portant cette inscription en dessus du Cachet à cire frappé à l'encre.

Je pense qu'elle est de la main de St. Denis ; mais il y a quasi identité entre son écriture et celle de Marchand, seulement un peu plus pointue. Tous deux s'étaient exercés à écrire extrêmement fin. J'ai beaucoup vu l'écriture de Marchand, dont j'ai en mains les Mémoires. J'ai vu l'écriture de St. Denis, mais il ne m'a été permis que de lire ses souvenirs sans les copier.

Autant qu'on peut se prononcer sur un spécimen aussi bref, je crois que l'Inscription est de St. Denis.

Croyez, Monsieur, à mes sentiments de haute considération.

(Signed) Frédéric Masson.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

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[TRANSLATION].

Sir,

I myself possess some books which came from St. Helena, and bearing this inscription above the seal stamped in ink.

I think that it is by the hand of St. Denis ; but, his writing is almost identical with that of Marchand, only a little more pointed. Both were accustomed to write very acutely. I have seen frequently the writing of Marchand, whose Memoirs I have by me. I have seen the writing of St. Denis ; but, I was allowed only to read his memoranda, without copying them.

So far as one can give an opinion upon so short a specimen, I believe the inscription to be by St. Denis.

* * * *

(Signed) Frédéric Masson.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

République Française

Liberté, Égalité, Fraternité

Ville de Sens,

Département de l'Yonne.

Mairie,

Sens, le 21 Avril, 1917.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 2 Avril, tendant à obtenir un spécimen de l'écriture de M. Saint-Denis, qui fut garde des livres de l'Empereur Napoléon à Ste Hélène.

Dans le but de faciliter vos recherches, je vous adresse, sous ce pli, un calque de la signature de Saint-Denis, relevée sur un registre de l'Etat Civil de Sens.

Je crois devoir vous donner, en même temps, quelques autres indications.

Sur tous les livres ayant fait partie de la Bibliothèque personnelle de l'Empereur Napoléon, à Ste Hélène, existe un ex-libris, en écriture fine, ainsi conçu (imitation of the inscription " L'Empereur Napoléon ") : à côté figure un cachet aux armes impériales.

Vous pourriez utilement consulter l'ouvrage suivant : " Mémoires de Fleury de Chaboulon, Ex-Secrétaire de l'Empereur Napoléon et son cabinet, avec annotations manuscrites de Napoléon I^{er} ", publiés par Lucien Cornet, Député, Maire de Sens, édité en 1901 par M. Edouard Rouveyre, 76, rue de Seine, à Paris (3 volumes, dont 2 volumes des mémoires, et 1 des annotations à relier avec les 2 autres).

Lyon le 16 juin 1849

Monsieur le Président Du Conseil,

Le Ministre qui s'adresse à la noble et généreuse
gratitude du Roi en rendant à la France la cendre de
l'Empereur Napoléon a dû deviner à son héritage.

Permettre, mais à ce titre, Monsieur le Ministre de vous
offrir la Correspondance de Napoléon, publiée par
l'archevêque, dont l'état on je l'ai trouvée dans le bureau
de l'Empereur après sa mort, je viendrais en faisant
valoir l'ouvrage, de retirer le cachet si distinctif de
l'usage qu'il en a fait pendant sa longue agonie sur
le rocher.

Je me rappelle, Monsieur le Président, que lorsque
vous étiez en janvier 1827 voir le dépôt que me confia
l'Empereur pour son fils, parmi les objets qui figuraient
votre collection, toute reliée, furent aussi les notes écrites
de la main de l'Empereur dans et ouvrages.

Je me disais donc, Monsieur le Ministre, que ce don
vous fut aussi précieux, que je m'en de bonheur à vous
faire hommage.

J'ai l'honneur d'être, avec respect,

Monsieur le Président Du Conseil,

Votre très humble et très dévoué serviteur,

Marxichand



L'Empereur Napoléon

Hommage à Napoléon Bonaparte

*Cette correspondance dévouée par son auteur à l'Empereur
Napoléon Bonaparte, lui a été remise par la main de son
secrétaire, le 16 Mars 1804. Elle est destinée à servir de
souvenir à l'Empereur, et à lui prouver que son
Général de l'Armée d'Italie, le 16 Mars 1804.*

CORRESPONDANCE



INÉDITE

OFFICIELLE ET CONFIDENTIELLE

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE.

*1744 Réserve
233*

Book inscribed by Marchand.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

Dans cet ouvrage se trouve publié le catalogue numéroté de la Bibliothèque personnelle de Napoléon à Ste Hélène.

La maison d'édition Rouveyre n'existe plus et je n'ai, personnellement, aucun volume disponible, mais si vous vous adressiez à des libraires-bouquinistes, il vous serait possible, je crois, de vous procurer cet ouvrage.

Dans l'espoir que ces renseignements pourront vous donner satisfaction, veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

Le Maire,

Sénateur de l'Yonne,

(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

[TRANSLATION].

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of April 2nd, expressing a desire to obtain a specimen of the writing of M. Saint-Denis, who was librarian to the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena.

With the object of assisting you in your inquiries, I send you, in this envelope, a tracing of the signature of Saint-Denis taken from an official document in Sens.

I think I can at the same time give you some other information. Upon all the books, which constituted the personal library of the Emperor Napoleon at St. Helena, there is an ex-libris in small writing, like this : (imitation of the inscription " L'Empereur Napoleon ") : and, at the side, there appears a seal with the imperial arms.

You could with advantage consult the following work : " Memoires of Fleury de Chaboulon, ex-Secretary to the Emperor Napoleon and his cabinet, with manuscript notes by Napoléon I.", compiled by Lucien Cornet, Député, Mayor of Sens, and published in 1901, by M. Edouard Rouveyre, 76 Rue de Seine, Paris (3 volumes, of which 2 volumes are of the memoirs, and 1 of notes to bind with the 2 others).

In this work is published the detailed catalogue of the personal library of Napoleon at St. Helena.

The publishing-house of Rouveyre no longer exists and I, personally, have no spare copy ; but, if you inquire at the old book-shops, it would, I think, be possible for you to procure the work.

In the hope that this information may be of service to you,

* * * *

(Signed) The Mayor, Senator of l'Yonne,

Lucien Cornet.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

Mairie,
Ville de Sens,
le 25 Juillet, 1917.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 18 Juillet par laquelle vous me demandez l'autorisation de faire photographier le document entier sur lequel se trouve la signature de St Denis.

Ce document étant un acte de l'Etat Civil, j'ai le regret de ne pouvoir vous donner satisfaction, attendu que la loi française ne permet pas la reproduction que vous sollicitez.

Toutefois, M. St. Denis ayant été Conseiller Municipal de Sens, sa signature figure sur d'autres documents publics et susceptibles d'être photographiés. Au cas où cette solution vous conviendrait, je vous prie de bien vouloir m'en aviser, et je ferai le nécessaire pour que M. Prévost puisse vous donner toute satisfaction à ce sujet.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

Le Maire,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

[TRANSLATION].

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of July 18th, in which you ask for my authority to have photographed in its entirety the document on which the signature of St. Denis appears.

This being an official document, I regret that I am unable to grant your request, as the French law does not permit the reproduction which you desire.

But, Monsieur St. Denis, having been a Municipal Councillor of Sens, his signature appears on other documents which are public, and available for photography. If this solution be agreeable to you, I would ask you be so kind as to inform me, and I will make the necessary arrangements, so that Monsieur Prévost may give you every satisfaction in the matter.

* * * * *

The Mayor,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

1^{er} Lij. Régul.

CORRESPONDANCE



IMPRIMÉ

OFFICIELLE ET CONFIDENTIELLE

DE

NAPOLEON BONAPARTE

AVEC



LES COURS ÉTRANGÈRES, LES PRINCES, LES MINISTRES
ET LES GÉNÉRAUX FRANÇAIS ET ÉTRANGERS,

EN ITALIE, EN ALLEMAGNE ET EN ESPAGNE.

Scripta manent.

ITALIE.

TOME DEUXIÈME.

PARIS

C. L. F. PANCKOUCKE

RUE DES POITEVINS, N. 14.

MDCCCXIX.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

M^e. Alexandre Corot,
Notaire,
51, Rue de la République,
Sens (Yonne),
Succ^r de M^{es} Porté et Mercier.
Sens,
le 10 Août, 1917.

Monsieur le Sénateur,

Je m'empresse de répondre à votre lettre d'hier, que je reçois seulement ce soir.

Je ne vois, pour ma part, aucun inconvénient à accorder à M. le Baronnet Lees Knowles ce qu'il demande, mais je ne puis le faire sans l'autorisation de l'un des représentants de la famille, le testament contenant un certain nombre de dispositions confidentielles.

J'écris donc par ce même courrier à M. Fauche, petit fils de M. St. Denis, pour lui demander de m'autoriser à laisser photographier le testament, tout au moins en ce qui concerne le legs fait à la Ville de Sens de divers objets ayant appartenu à Napoléon, la date, et la signature.

Aussitôt que j'aurai sa réponse, je vous en ferai part.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur le Sénateur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués et dévoués,

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

Monsieur le Sénateur Cornet.

[TRANSLATION].

I hasten to reply to your letter of yesterday which I received only this evening.

For my part I see no objection to agreeing to what Sir Lees Knowles asks ; but, I cannot act without the authority of one of the representatives of the family, as the will contains a certain number of confidential dispositions.

I am writing, therefore, by this post to M. Fauche, grand-son of M. St. Denis, asking his permission to photograph the will, or at least so much of it as concerns the legacy made to the town of Sens of the various articles which belonged to Napoleon, the date, and the signature.

As soon as I have his answer, I will acquaint you with it.

* * * *

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

To Monsieur the Senator Cornet.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

Mairie,

Ville de Sens,

le 13 Août, 1917.

Monsieur,

En réponse à votre lettre, j'ai l'honneur de vous faire connaître que, dans le but de vous donner satisfaction, j'ai pensé à faire photographier le testament olographe de M. Saint-Denis.

A cet effet, j'ai consulté le notaire de l'étude où le testament a été déposé. Je vous communique sous ce pli la réponse que m'a faite M^e Corot.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distinguées.

Le Maire,

(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

[TRANSLATION].

In answer to your letter, I have the honour to inform you that, with the object of assisting you, I have thought of having a photograph taken of the holograph will of Monsieur St. Denis.

With this object in view, I have consulted the Solicitor, in whose office the will is deposited. Under this cover, I communicate the answer which Maître Corot has sent to me.

* * * *

The Mayor,

(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

Copie d'une lettre adressée par

M. Rollet à M^e Corot, Notaire,

Fontainebleau,

le 17 Août, 1917.

Monsieur,

Je reçois à l'instant par l'intermédiaire du notaire d'Héricy, une lettre que vous avez adressée le 10 de ce mois à Monsieur Fauche relativement au testament St. Denis.

[illegible]

J. L. G. & Co. of Denver

[illegible]

Autograph of St Denis

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

M^e Fauche est décédé au mois de Novembre dernier, laissant ses deux sœurs, dont ma femme, pour seules héritières, et en autre légataires à titre particulier, des papiers et souvenirs St. Denis.

On procède actuellement à la liquidation de la communauté, opération que l'on espère terminer très prochainement, et, bien que cette communauté n'ait rien à voir avec le document dont vous parlez, nous désirons reporter à ce moment la réponse qui sera donnée à votre lettre après entente avec Monsieur Michaut, mon gendre, Maître de Conférences à la Sorbonne qui habite Sceaux, et détenteur actuel des papiers légués.

Je n'ai pas besoin de dire, Monsieur, que la demande de Sir Lees Knowles sera examinée avec toute la bienveillance possible.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

(Signé) Rollet.

M^e Rollet, 6 rue Herschel à Paris (actuellement à Fontainebleau).

[TRANSLATION].

I have just received, at the hands of Monsieur d'Héricy, Notary, a letter which you addressed on the 10th of this month to Monsieur Fauche, relating to the St. Denis will.

Maître Fauche died in November last, leaving his two sisters, of whom one is my wife, as sole heiresses with, amongst other things, a special title to the St. Denis papers and souvenirs.

We are now proceeding with the liquidation of the estate, an operation which we hope to finish shortly ; but, as the estate has nothing to do with the document of which you speak, we wish to consider at this moment the answer which will be given to your letter after agreement with Monsieur Michaut, my son-in-law, Maître de Conférences at the Sorbonne, who lives at Sceaux, and the actual holder of the bequeathed papers.

I need not say, Sir, that the request of Sir Lees Knowles will be considered with all possible good-will.

* * * *

(Signed) Rollet

M. Rollet to Maître Corot, Notary.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

Sens,
le 21 Août, 1917.

Monsieur le Sénateur,

Comme suite à ma lettre du 10 courant relative au testament de M. St. Denis, je vous envoie sous ce pli copie de ma lettre que je viens de recevoir de M. Rollet, l'un de ses représentants.

Dès que j'aurai du nouveau, je vous en aviserai.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, le Sénateur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués et dévoués,

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

à Monsieur le Sénateur Cornet.

[TRANSLATION].

Following my letter of the 10th instant, relative to the will of Monsieur St. Denis, I send you under this cover a copy of a letter which I have just received from Monsieur Rollet, one of the representatives of the family.

When I have anything new, I will advise you.

* * * *

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

To Monsieur the Senator Cornet.

Mairie,
Ville de Sens,
le 24 Août, 1917.

Monsieur,

Comme suite à votre demande, j'ai l'honneur de vous transmettre sous ce pli, une lettre de M^e Corot ainsi que la copie de celle qui lui a été envoyée par l'un des membres de la famille Saint-Denis relativement au testament dont vous sollicitez la reproduction photographique.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

Le Maire,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

[TRANSLATION].

As a sequel to your request, I have the honour to send you, under this cover, a letter from Maître Corot, as well as a copy of one which has been sent to him by one of the members of the Saint-Denis family, relating to the will of which you desire the photographic reproduction.

* * * *

The Mayor,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

Mairie,
Ville de Sens,
le 9 Septembre, 1917.

Monsieur,

M^e Corot, notaire à Sens, vient de m'informer que M. Michaut, Maître de Conférences à la Sorbonne, qui habite Sceaux (Seine), rue des Imbergères, 35, lui a fait connaître, au nom de la famille Saint-Denis, qu'il autorise à laisser photographier le testament de M. Saint-Denis, pour tout ce qui n'a pas un caractère familial et confidentiel, c'est-à-dire notamment l'énumération détaillée des objets ayant appartenu à Napoléon, la date du testament et la signature.

M^e Corot se tient à votre disposition pour cette opération.

M. Michaut a prié M^e Corot de vous faire savoir que M. Saint-Denis a laissé "des mémoires" que sa famille se propose de publier après la guerre, et il serait reconnaissant, si vous aviez découvert quelque détail touchant M. Saint-Denis, de les lui communiquer.

Je vous engage donc à entrer en rapporte avec M^e Corot, notaire à Sens, rue de la République, 51.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'expression de mes sentiments les plus distingués.

Le Maire de Sens,
Sénateur de l'Yonne,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

[TRANSLATION].

Maitre Corot, notary, of Sens, has just informed me that Monsieur Michaut, Maitre de Conférences at the Sorbonne, who lives at 35 Rue des Imbergères, Sceaux (Seine), has instructed him, in the name of the Saint-Denis family, to allow the will of Monsieur Saint-Denis to be photographed, so far as it has no family and confidential character, that is to say, in particular, the detailed list of the articles which belonged to Napoleon, the date of the will and the signature. Maitre Corot is at your service for this operation.

Monsieur Michaut has asked Maitre Corot to tell you that Monsieur Saint-Denis left some memoirs which the family propose to publish after the war, and he would be very grateful if you would communicate to him any details that you may have discovered touching M. Saint-Denis.

I suggest that you enter into communication with Maitre Corot, notary, 51 Rue de la République, Sens.

* * * *

The Mayor of Sens, Senator of l'Yonne,
(Signed) Lucien Cornet.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

Photographie Alsacienne,
Ancienne Maison E. Baudoin,
M. Prévost successeur,
6, rue du Palais-de-Justice,
Sens (Yonne),
le 2 Octobre, 1917.

Monsieur,

Par suite à l'entretien que j'ai eu avec M^e Corot au sujet du travail que vous m'avez demandé, je ne suis autorisé à reproduire que deux documents.

Je me suis permis de faire deux clichés, car M^e Corot ne peut se dessaisir du testament, et devant assister à la reproduction n'était libre qu'aujourd'hui.

Je pense arriver à un bon resultat, et j'espère vous donner satisfaction.

(Signed) P. M. Prévost.
F. Prévost.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

[TRANSLATION].

As the result of the conversation which I have had with Maître Corot on the subject of the work which you have asked of me, I am authorized to reproduce only two documents.

I have taken upon myself to make two negatives : Maître Corot, not being able to give up possession of the will, and being obliged to be present at the reproduction, was not free until to-day.

I expect to arrive at a good result, and I hope to give you satisfaction.

(Signed) P. M. Prévost.

F. Prévost.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

Sens,

le 3 Octobre, 1917.

Monsieur,

J'ai l'honneur de vous aviser que j'ai mis à la disposition de M. Prévost, photographe, hier, le testament de Monsieur Saint-Denis, et que la photographie de la partie autorisée de ce testament a été faite.

J'espère qu'elle vous donnera satisfaction.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes sentiments distingués.

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

à Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

[TRANSLATION].

I have the honour to inform you that yesterday I placed the will of Monsieur Saint-Denis at the service of Monsieur Prévost, photographer, and that the negative of the part of the will authorized has been made.

I hope this will give you satisfaction.

* * * *

(Signed) Alexandre Corot.

To Sir Lees Knowles, Bart.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

The following is a transcript, with a translation, from the will of St. Denis :—

Les objets ci-après seront offerts à la ville de Sens :

- 1° L'habit de l'Empereur garni des épaulettes et de la plaque de la Légion d'honneur, mes enfants feront faire une montre vitrée pour la soutenir.
- 2° La cocarde de l'un des chapeaux de l'Empereur, celle-ci sera mise sous verre dans un petit cadre.
- 3° Les deux volumes de M. Fleuri de Chaboulon (cet ouvrage dont les marges sont couvertes de notes au crayon de la main de l'Empereur avait appartenu à Sir Hudson Lowe), et celui de la bataille de Waterloo. Cet exemplaire fut envoyé à l'Empereur par le docteur O'Meara. Sa Majesté en avait donné la manuscrit au docteur lors du départ de celui-ci pour l'Europe et l'avait chargé de le faire imprimer. Les quelques changements ou corrections toutes au crayon sont de la main de l'Empereur.
- 4° Les deux atlas sur les cartes desquels il-y-a des tracés ou calculs, etc., au crayon qui sont de la main de l'Empereur. Pour faire ses dictées sur les campagnes d'Italie il s'est fréquemment servi de l'atlas d'Italie.
- 5° Le volume in folio des campagnes d'Italie, cet ouvrage fut envoyé à l'Empereur par Lady Holland.
- 6° et enfin, le morceau du Cercueil de l'Empereur, et le morceau du tronc de l'un des saules qui ombrageaient la tombe en 1840.

Je prie M. Murin de se charger d'offrir ces différents objets pour qu'ils prennent place dans la bibliothèque-musée de la ville.

Mes filles devront toujours se rappeler que l'Empereur fut mon bienfaiteur et par conséquent le leur : la plus grande partie de ce que je possède je le dois à ses bontés.

Je prie M. Murin, mon gendre, d'accepter les fonctions d'Exécuteur testamentaire.

Fait à Sens le six Juillet mil huit cent cinquante-cinq.

St. Denis.

Signé et paraphé par nous Président du Tribunal civil de Sens, et par le greffier, au desir de notre procès verbal de ce jour.

Sens, le quatre mai mil huit cent cinquante six.

Coubard.

Cornethier.

Enregistré à Sens le huit Mai, 1856.

Jeune M. M. : Je t'embrasse et je t'embrasse
de tout mon cœur. — — — — —

Dr. John McMurrian, my friend, I ample to
furnish 2 *Eximius Eximius* ~~...~~

fue i fone le pte gubnet mnt. lora con
un punto ing - f. d'ordi

Styria a prapagat: par noua Prefectura de la linia
aici debut a fiarta proffiti un datu de catatog
peste de a pover
de la grata mai mult sunt desti ariana

Q. v. m. h. e. n.

Embassy

$$\begin{array}{r} 1.1 \\ 4.2 \\ \hline 5.3 \end{array}$$

May 1861
No. 10. 1.
H. H. H. H.

[Faint handwritten notes at the bottom of the page]

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

[TRANSLATION].

The following articles are to be offered to the town of Sens :—

- 1st. The Emperor's coat ornamented with the epaulettes and the star of the Legion of Honour. My children should have a glass case made to contain it.
- 2nd. The cockade of one of the Emperor's hats, this to be put under glass in a small frame.
- 3rd. The two books by M. Fleuri de Chaboulon (this work, the margins of which are covered with pencil-notes in the Emperor's handwriting, formerly belonged to Sir Hudson Lowe), and the one of the Battle of Waterloo, this copy having been sent to the Emperor by Doctor O'Meara. His Majesty had given the manuscript of this work to the Doctor before his departure for Europe, and had commanded him to have it printed. The various alterations and corrections in pencil are in the Emperor's hand.
- 4th. The two atlases, on the maps of which there are marks and calculations, etc., in pencil which are in the Emperor's hand. In his dictations about the campaigns in Italy, he availed himself frequently of the map of Italy.
- 5th. The folio volume of the campaigns in Italy : this work was sent to the Emperor by Lady Holland.
- 6th and last, a piece of the Emperor's coffin, and a piece of the trunk of one of the willow-trees which shaded the grave in 1840.

I beg M. Murin to accept the duty of offering these several articles, in order that they may find a resting-place in the Library-museum of the town.

My daughters must ever remember that the Emperor was my benefactor, and consequently theirs, also : the greater part of what I possess, I owe to his generosity.

I beg M. Murin, my son-in-law, to accept the executorship of my will.

Made at Sens the 6th July, 1856.

St. Denis.

Signed and initialled by us : the President of the Civil Court of Sens, and by the Clerk in accordance with our proceedings of this day.

Sens, the 4th May, 1856.

Coubard.

Cornethier.

Registered at Sens the 8th May, 1856.

CHAPTER IV.

MARCHAND AND ST. DENIS.

The following sketch is drawn mainly from two well-known books, "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène", by Frédéric Masson, and "Après la mort de l'Empereur", by Albéric Cahuet.

Napoleon, at the age of forty-five, escaped from the Isle of Elba on February 20th, 1815, and, about a month later, he entered Paris. Then began a third period of imperialism, known as the Hundred Days, which lasted from March 13th to June 22nd. During those days, the servants of Elba retained their positions at the Tuileries, and at the Élysée. Later, when Napoleon embarked for St. Helena, the English allowed only fifteen servants to embark with him, and more than half of them had been with the Emperor in the Isle. At St. Helena, his household was under the chief direction of Count Bertrand, who held the appointment of Grand Marshal which he had held previously, and two of its humblest members were Marchand and St. Denis : to write of one of them would be impossible without alluding to his intimate connection with the other, and of their intimate connection with Count Bertrand.

The name of Marchand has fixed itself in history as part of the legend of St. Helena ; but, Bertrand and Marchand do not represent at all the same personalities. Bertrand was always the military aristocrat, the high personage, whereas Marchand, of much humbler position, raised himself by his assiduity above his station : for the Emperor, a prisoner and sick, Marchand was a confidant, and it is in the name of a friend, more glorious than a title of nobility, that Napoleon hands him down to history in his will. Napoleon bore towards Marchand such a friendship as Queen Victoria bore towards her faithful servant, John Brown. One day, Napoleon, before whom Bertrand himself could not hide his weariness in exile, said to Marchand, "They will all go. You alone will stay with me and close my eyes".

The wind and wet weather of St. Helena were almost proverbial : the silk stuffs, the uniforms, the gloves, things in general, although

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

placed in well-fitting boxes, were eaten quickly with reddish spots which could not be removed, leather was covered over in a few days with a mass of mouldiness. It was hard work protecting the wardrobe of the Emperor from these injuries, and, had it not been for the religious care of Marchand, the red velvet-dress of the consul, used for grand ceremonies, and the cloak of Marengo, etc., would have become soon a lamentable mass of rags.

Napoleon died at St. Helena on Saturday, May 5th, and he was buried on Wednesday, May 9th, 1821—one hundred years ago. Seventeen days after the burial of the Emperor, the French colony was in a state of departure. Under the direction of Count Montholon, and the immediate care of Marchand, a commencement was made, the day after the funeral, of packing the transportable furniture, the valuable plate, a great part of the books, all the wardrobe of the exile, the faded uniforms, and the eagle-liveries, which would no longer be of use. Piously, and with a thousand attentions, had been shut up in their travelling-shrines, the body-linen and the arms of the great dead, his Austerlitz-sword, his pistols, his spurs, intended for his son, the lace to be delivered to his wife, and the other keepsakes to be distributed among the Imperial family.

On August 23rd, 1821, Louis-Joseph-Narcisse Marchand, ex-valet of the Emperor, presented himself at the office of the police-authorities in Paris, and asked for a passport to Auxerre. Marchand was then thirty years of age, intelligent, handsome, and courteous. In Paris, he was anxious to avoid all compromising curiosity, at the same time, during the whole of his stay there, he was never, for a single step, left by the police. The first care of Marchand, after joining his mother at Auxerre, was to acquire near that town a country-house with a little land, the Verger estate, in the Commune of Perrigny : he was not without means. Napoleon, on his death-bed, had authorised him to dispose of the necklace, which the Queen Hortense had handed to her stepfather at the time of his departure from Malmaison, and, according to the estimate of the Emperor, it was worth 200,000 francs, or £8,000. "Hide it on your person", the dying man charged him : "I give it to you. I do not know in what state my affairs are in Europe : it is the only thing of value of which I am able to dispose. It will enable you to wait for the provision that I am making for you in my will and codicil". But, already by his own economies, Louis Marchand was able to set himself up in the country, without waiting for the probate of the Imperial will, which assured to him a fortune of 500,000 francs, or £20,000. Auxerre is only 175 kilometres, or about 105 miles, from the capital.

A GIFT OF NAPOLEON

He took care not to join any secret society. A note of the Prefecture states that, during his visits to Paris, he did not see anyone except the Generals Bertrand and Montholon, executors like himself of the will of Napoleon. However, he had to make the acquaintance of an old soldier of the Empire—General Brayer—to whose house Montholon one day took him, and the returning of this visit had a decisive effect upon the destiny of the former valet of the Emperor. Montholon might well show some kindness to the servant whom Napoleon himself, in his will, deigned to call his friend, and to whom he had been willing to transfer, as a truly Imperial evidence of his gratitude, the necklace of Queen Hortense, charging him, under the same title as Bertrand, and Montholon himself, with the execution of his last wishes. “Marry honourably”, he had said to him, towards the end, “make your choice among the daughters of the officers, or soldiers, of my Old Guard: there are many of these good fellows who are not happy”. Brayer was one. In short, the valet was well-received by the General: marriage was discussed, and Marchand, on November 15th, 1823, married the young Michelle-Mathilde Brayer who, in the month of September in the following year, presented him with a daughter.

And now we see Marchand, thanks to his marriage, admitted into one of the families of the Imperial aristocracy. But, in reality, it was only in the reign of Napoleon III. that he received the right to appear among the Imperial arms-bearers: till then, the will of St. Helena had been executed only in part; for, it needed no less than three changes of Government for the execution of the Emperor's last wishes. So, the “Count” Marchand, son-in-law of the General of Division Count Brayer, peer of France of the Hundred Days, took rank, in consequence of his marriage, in the world of Imperial aristocracy. But, his mission to execute the will of Napoleon, in conjunction with Counts Bertrand and Montholon, helped to make him a still more notable personage of this Society.

To the King of Rome, Napoleon left only some personal keepsakes, and it was Marchand who was the custodian of the largest number of them. At the end of May, 1822, the executors were informed that they would not be permitted to see again their former royal mistress, Marie-Louise the ex-Empress, who was in Austria. In May, 1827, Marchand, who desired most strongly to fulfil the mission which was assigned to him, showed an intention of going to Vienna to transmit to the hands of the Duke of Reichstadt the different keepsakes which had been entrusted to him; but, the Austrian cabinet did not think it desirable to give him permission to go there. On March 18th, 1832, Marchand determined

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to write direct to the Duke of Reichstadt : but, he received no satisfaction, and so the King of Rome did not receive any of the pious keepsakes intended for him by the august victim.

The revolution of July, 1830, in sweeping away the throne of the Bourbons, must have changed again considerably Marchand's life, as well as that of his family-in-law. Louis-Philippe, made King, collected all those who had served with so much glory under the Emperor. The command of the Polytechnic School was offered to General Bertrand. General Brayer was re-instated in the active duties of his rank, as General of Division, and given a command at Strasbourg, whither he took his family and his son-in-law. The Government of Louis Philippe, on the initiative of Monsieur Thiers, negotiated with England for the return to France of the ashes of the prisoner of St. Helena. Lord Palmerston brought the proposal before Parliament in June, 1840, and it was adopted with enthusiasm. The translation of the body moved the heart of France, and everybody wanted to go to St. Helena. In what capacity could Marchand accompany the expedition? That was a knotty question.

By the desire of the Emperor, his social position had been changed, and there was a difficulty in adjusting matters. "Marchand agrees to accompany the mission", writes in her diary the Duchess de Dino, "on condition that he eats at the table of the Prince de Joinville : to satisfy him, he has been appointed captain of the staff of the national guard, and he is going, and he will eat at the table of the prince". It was nevertheless not quite so, and the servant of Napoleon was not, as a fact, one of the regular messmates of the son of Louis Philippe. It was arranged that Marchand should embark not on the frigate *Belle-Poule*, but on the convoy-corvette *La Favorite*, and, as he had been given an epaulette of lieutenant in the national guard, his rank allowed him to sit at the table of the commander, and on occasions at that of the leader of the expedition. Marchand took part in the last sad scene, more profoundly impressed than all the others.

The *Journal des Débats*, on November 29th, 1840, announced the death on the previous evening in Paris of Lieutenant-General the Count de Brayer. He had not been able to kneel before the coffin of Napoleon, with all the other generals, and Marshal Soult at their head. Moreover, if the good old man had lived a few weeks longer, he would have had the pleasure of hearing that his son-in-law, Marchand, had received from King Louis-Philippe the cross of the Legion of Honour.

Marchand was treated justly. Napoleon III. bestowed upon him the title of Count, which, with a coat of arms, was confirmed by letters patent on April 7th, 1869. In 1853, a commission was appointed specially

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to examine questions relating to the execution of the will of St. Helena, when Marchand received 213,980 francs, or upwards of £8,500, the heir of Brayer, 32,218 francs, or about £1,300.

On April 2nd, 1861, on the occasion of the removal of the remains of the Emperor to the new crypt in the dome of Les Invalides, Count Marchand, the sole survivor of the executors of the will of Napoleon, was made an officer of the Legion of Honour. As he had no male descendant, his son-in-law, M. Édouard Desmazières, who had married his only daughter in 1845, was authorised by Napoleon III. to take up the arms and the title of his father-in-law.

The first valet of St. Helena survived to the second Empire, and knew of the disaster at Sedan, after having been present at that of Waterloo. On June 21st, 1876, a short obituary notice in the *Figaro* announced, without comment, that the obsequies of "Monsieur the Count Marchand, late executor of the will of the Emperor Napoleon I.", would take place the following Thursday punctually at noon in the Church of Sainte-Clotilde. Countess Marchand, daughter of General Brayer, who was fourteen years younger than her husband, saw the Ministry of Gambetta, and died in 1881.

The father of Louis-Etienne Saint-Denis was employed in the stables of Louis XVI., whose livery he wore. He saw the reign come to an end, but his insignificance spared him from the revolutionary reprisals against all those who had supported the King, and, when new masters were installed at the Tuileries, old Saint-Denis approached the new powers and had the good fortune to be re-appointed as outrider (*piqueur*). At the same time, he succeeded in obtaining a promise from the Grand Coachman, Coulaingcourt, that his son should be engaged, and, when young Saint-Denis was admitted as a pupil in the stables, in 1806, he was just 18 years of age. This was a great change for him, as from the age of thirteen or fourteen he had been learning the duties of a junior clerk in a notary's office.

The apprentice-outrider was a fine youth, tall, well-made, of pleasant appearance, and he adapted himself quickly to his modest duties in connection with the care of horses. He made journeys to Germany, Spain, Holland, etc. : he was with all the escorts, and then, on returning to Paris, he learned that he was to be attached to the person of Napoleon.

It was in December of 1811 that the Emperor wished to add to the famous Roustan, a second *mameluke*, and, on the advice of the Grand Coachman, who had continued his interest in young St. Denis, he transformed his outrider to *mameluke*, changing his name from Saint-Denis to the more oriental one of Ali, which had been borne by an

2

Paris ce 12 Mars 1836.

Sire,

J'ai l'honneur d'envoyer à Votre Majesté une
reproduction des pièces des compagnies de Censur
qui m'ont été l'impression à St. Louis, et que
l'absence de Manuscrit m'a empêché de vous
présenter en sa personne.

Il sera heureux de pouvoir apprendre à
Votre Majesté que ce Volume est accueilli du
public avec cet intérêt qu'apporte le simple
effort pour tout ce qui peut lui faire
revivre son Empire.

Permettez moi, Sire, d'exprimer à Votre
Majesté mon très bon vœu de voir faire
pour elle son œil bon œil que celui qui
retient le feu. De l'empire et de la

De la Sol De la Vertue.

J'ai profité de cette circonstance pour
informer votre Augusta qu'en vertu d'une
autorisation de Madame Mère dont M. de
la Roche De Sadou est porteur et qu'il
m'a montrée, je me suis rendue les mains
du Degré qui m'était confié par l'Empereur
présentant qu'il était de mon devoir d'obéir
à une aussi sainte volonté, j'ai remis les
objets au Duc De Sadou, et j'aurai le
plaisir d'apprendre que Madame avait
puvoir servir en la triste condition de
toucher ces précieuses reliques.

J'ai l'honneur d'être avec un profond
respect,
Sir,

Votre très humble, et
très dévoué, serviteur.

M. de Sadou

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unknown destination. The Emperor, who foresaw and dreaded the cruel inactivity of a far-off exile, desired to take with him books, many books, a whole library of works. There were works collected at the Imperial libraries of the Tuileries, the Trianon, Rambouillet, and Compiègne, and his field-library. From these the Emperor drew largely, and in 1814, he had taken a portion of the Fontainebleau books to Elba, where they are preserved in the Communal library, at the town-hall of Porto-Ferrajo, at the present time, and are treasured by the people of the island. Blücher, when he knew the intention of Napoleon, sent a party of horsemen to oppose the transfer of the books, which he desired doubtless to keep for Louis XVIII. These soldiers did not arrive until after the departure of the first carriage: so that, out of 1,920 volumes, 550 followed in Napoleon's baggage, and were taken on board the "Northumberland", as the foundation of the exile's library.

The memorialists of St. Helena have told us of the tedium of Longwood, where the restrained and supervised existence of the prisoners was terribly monotonous. In the morning, the Emperor hardly ever went out. In the afternoon, about 2 o'clock, he took, fairly regularly in the early days, an English lesson with Las Cases: afterwards, he walked in the poor garden, where sometimes, but very rarely, presentations were made to him: then, he drove for a short distance in a carriage, with great state, and with Ali, in green and gold, as outrider at the head of the team of six horses. Before the evening meal, the Emperor either dictated, or revised, at first with Las Cases, the campaigns in Italy or Egypt. It was necessary to follow him word for word: so, Las Cases was obliged to invent, for his own use, a sort of hieroglyphic writing, a kind of shorthand, and later, he himself dictated what he had noted to his son, Emmanuel, who was obliged soon to replace his father in Napoleon's service, when the bad state of the eyes of Las Cases rendered the work too difficult. Another gratuitous copyist did not delay in offering himself, and in making himself useful, one who having passed from the stable to the house, passed from the house to the archives. At first, St. Denis began by putting in order the pages of the memoirs which Las Cases had written out from day to day. Every time, says Las Cases, that the Emperor entered my room, he saw there the faithful Ali in his spare moments recopying this journal. Each day, unless he was required for carriage-work, or in the Emperor's bedroom, he occupied himself in classifying and arranging the books, the returns and the withdrawals, and he made, without doubt by Montholon's suggestion, a systematic catalogue; so that, although the library was not a large one, the duties of librarian were no sinecure. First, he had to

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wait upon the Emperor, who wanted always a considerable number of books to be brought to him at the same time. If one of these works interested him especially, he covered its margins with notes. Everything which offered any degree of utility was, even after being read carefully, put aside. The Emperor would allow no volume to be mislaid. At Malmaison, at Fontainebleau, and at the Trianon, a book, after being entered in the catalogue, was marked with a stamp bearing the words "Cabinet of the Emperor". At Longwood, this stamp was replaced by a seal daubed with ink, or by a wax-impression, in which the Imperial arms might be faintly distinguished. In the classification of the book-cases, the Emperor insisted upon absolute methodical order. M. Frédéric Masson says, "A book, which he had once seen and read, never went out of his memory. If the librarian could not find it at once, Napoleon would describe minutely the binding, the colour of the back and sides, point out the position where the book should have been, and on which shelf it should be found. To the green library, St. Denis had to welcome also all the Emperor's companions, each one of the captivity in search of a book to read. Gourgaud asked for books on military history, Bertrand chose novels for his wife, Montholon, especially, paid frequent visits to St. Denis. "I am the despair of Ali", he wrote to his Countess, on August 11th, 1819: "he pretends that I have out more than a hundred volumes, and that I never bring back a book. This is true; but, I pay no attention to him". This carelessness, however, did not always make the good fellow laugh, for he took his responsibility as custodian of the books very seriously, and he tried above all to avoid the Emperor's greatly-dreaded fits of impatience. To tell the truth, this library, commencing with 600 volumes collected hastily, in which materials for study appeared in very small numbers was quite insufficient to occupy the leisure of the exile. So, during the voyage of the "Northumberland" from Portsmouth to St. Helena, Napoleon took advantage of a call at Madeira to make out a carefully prepared list, and to request the English Government to order the books to be sent to him, payable on delivery. But, these volumes did not arrive at Longwood until June, 1816. Until then, he contented himself with what he had. After dinner, when he did not play cards, he read. Truly monotonous were those evenings at St. Helena, in the wretched light of a few candles—for the Government was parsimonious about wax and candles—in the wretched room, covered with a yellow paper with a terrible pattern of green flowers! There, however, the men wore uniform or Court-dress, and the Countesses Bertrand and Montholon made an effort at dressing, very difficult of success in this isolation.

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On May 21st, 1816, Napoleon received an English publication, reproducing the official notes found in the portfolio, which had been taken with the Imperial carriage by the English at Waterloo. After this, the parcels were more regular, frequent, and complete. Every three or four weeks, he received a large packet of European journals, and you may judge with what energy they were perused ! At the end of June, 1816, the books ordered in Madeira arrived. The wishes of the Emperor had not been very carefully followed : there were missing a good number of recent works that the Emperor would have liked to possess. The parcels, rare at first, numerous at the end of the captivity, arrived without order, or method. Such as it was, however, the Longwood library answered to the needs of the little colony. The Emperor was not the only one to use it. Everyone came to borrow from it. Useless books certainly had poured in ; but, the variety of the volumes sent to Napoleon had the great advantage of offering to each of his companions reading-matter in accordance with his tastes and temperament : for, in this library of the exile, there was something of everything, science and literature, almanacs, histories, newspapers, maps, and novels.

The collection of memoirs and historical books occupied a large space in the domain of St. Denis. From it, the Emperor usually drew for his favourite reading, besides which he wanted it for his personal work. Among the number who made contributions to the Longwood library were two English people of illustrious name, Lord and Lady Holland, courageous admirers of the unhappy genius, who sent in 1817 a precious parcel of books, which they renewed each year until the death of the Emperor. Other boxes of books and pamphlets were sent from 1818 to 1821 by the English ministry, and by various other donors. And, when the Emperor was obliged to give up all work, when he was confined to bed, when he was dying, the number of friendly parcels increased. On March 14th, Napoleon, during a rally in his illness, opened for the last time a box of books, which Lord Bathurst had ordered to be sent to St. Helena.

Napoleon, being dead, books still continued to arrive. The last boxes, which were received at St. Helena, fifteen days after the death of the consignee, seem to have been sent by Lady Holland on March 16th, 1821. From 1818 to 1821, during the last phase, a relative abundance of newspapers succeeded to the what was at first nearly a complete scarcity, and, on the eve of his death, the Emperor was almost as well informed of that which went on in Europe as Sir Hudson Lowe.

Without neglecting any of his duties about the Emperor, or in the ordering of his library, St. Denis did not escape the matrimonial epidemic

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which raged at Longwood. He had discovered in Betsy Hall, a pretty girl, sent to St. Helena as a governess by Lady Jerningham, the aunt of Madam Bertrand, the fulfilment of his dream of exile, and he was able, with the Emperor's approval, to set up a home. Coming from England, the fiancée, who was called Mary, or Marie, in the family of St. Denis, was apparently a good and simple girl, whom Napoleon saw, without inconvenience to himself, entering more intimately into the little colony. She presented her husband with a baby-girl to whom the Emperor deigned to stand god-father, and on whom he bestowed, on her christening-day, a gold chain which is religiously preserved by her descendants. This was one more French subject at Longwood, and the prisoner cheered himself by caressing her, when she was being carried in his direction. But, the end of the exile was approaching : the Emperor discontinued going out. His malady made rapid progress, and was soon a torture. From this time, the library ceased to give anxiety to the custodian of the books. No one read at Longwood. A day was preparing itself in history, in which each one sacrificed himself in a last exaltation of devotion, praying or weeping for the illustrious dying.

After his master had been taken to the valley of death, St. Denis with his wife and little daughter, reached Europe on board the wretched transport "Camel", on which all the exiles had taken their passage.

In his will, the Emperor had not forgotten the faithful mameluke, who had become the guardian of the books in his exile. In different codicils he left him a total sum of 135,000 francs, or £5,400, and he charged him with the care of "400 books selected from his library from amongst those which he had himself used", and, "to hand them over to his son, when he was 16 years of age". This first selection being made, the exiles, on leaving Longwood, took away with their baggage the best of the library, especially the books from the Trianon, which were bound with the Imperial arms. It is known that those chosen for the King of Rome did not arrive at their destination. Of the books given into the charge of St. Denis, some reached the Imperial family, others were presented by their holder to the town of Sens, whither he retired, and where he died.

In 1840, the former librarian at Longwood asked to be allowed to join the mission which went with all solemnity to St. Helena to bring home the Emperor's remains, and he participated in the glory of the return. Afterwards, he retired to his peaceful home at Sens, with his wife and three daughters, and there he found pleasure in reading and in the study of history and mathematics. Some years later, he busied himself in editing carefully his recollections, either from the contemporary notes of the

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captivity, or from his memory, which, however, he admitted in 1847 was very bad : but, it appears that he was careful to have it checked by his former comrades.

The Council of State on May 17th, 1853, considered a petition addressed to it by St. Denis, asking for the cross of the Legion of Honour. On May 19th, the Chancellory of the Order, being consulted, replied that the great number of requests did not permit it for the time to add the name of the old Imperial servant. In spite of this, shortly afterwards, on February 23rd, 1854, St. Denis was decorated. The reception into the Order of Ali, now a citizen of Sens, took place on June 10th, 1854, in the office of the sub-prefect himself, Gustave Lapérouse, who gave him the accolade in the course of an impressive little ceremony, at which some old soldiers were present. On May 3rd, 1856, less than two years after, the former Imperial mameluke, and the custodian of the books of Napoleon, died, at the age of 68 years. In his holograph will of July 6th, 1855, he showed his gratitude to the town which had welcomed him, where he had lived as a peaceful citizen waiting for the end of his life, by leaving to the Museum of Sens, besides certain works from the library of St. Helena, some precious relics, more fully described elsewhere, including, a uniform coat of the Emperor with the épaulettes and the badge of the Legion of Honour, a cockade of one of the traditional hats, a piece of the coffin in which the Emperor had been buried, and a piece of the trunk of one of the willow-trees which had shaded his tomb.

His three daughters were married. The eldest and her children died without successors : and so did the third. The second daughter is dead, leaving a son married without children, an unmarried daughter, and a second daughter who had an only daughter married to a lecturer of the Faculty of letters in Paris. The child of this union is the great-grandson of St. Denis.

CHAPTER V.

MARLBROUGH S'EN VA-T-EN GUERRE.

IS this song epic, or lyric, poetry? According to the Imperial Dictionary, an epic poem, otherwise called heroic, is a poem which narrates a story, real or fictitious, or partly both, representing usually the achievements of some distinguished hero: a lyric poem is poetry composed for musical recitation, delineating the poet's own thoughts and feelings. It would seem, therefore, that it is an epic poem. But, perhaps, it may be described most accurately as a ballad, or narrative poem, adapted for singing. In any case, as it was sung commonly by the people, it is certainly a folk-song.

The song is assigned by Brewer's "Reader's Handbook", and "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable", to the period of the Crusades. The former work notes that the name appears in a Basque Pastorale, and also in Chansons de Geste, and from the latter it appears that the air was known to the Egyptians, and to the Australian aborigines in the eighteenth century. See Notes and Queries, November 30th, 1907, page 435. It has no reference to the first Duke of Marlborough (1650-1722), although it is considered usually to have been sung about the time of the Battle of Malplaquet (September 11th, 1709), and to have come generally into vogue soon after the birth of the elder son of Louis XVI. (1715-1774), when the young Dauphin's nurse used to sing it to her charge. According to King's "Classical and Foreign Quotations", page 191, the song refers to Charles, third Duke of Marlborough (1706-1758), and his abortive expedition against Cherbourg in 1758.

In the "Illustrated Book of French Songs", by the dramatic author John Oxenford (1812-1877), published in 1855, page 187, is this statement: "the following note, from their collection of songs, is attached by MM. Dumersan & Noel Ségur to this song, the tune of which is familiar to many an Englishman who has never heard or read a line of the words:—The famous Duke of Marlborough had been dead sixty years, when in 1781 the nurse of the Dauphin, son of Louis XVI., sang, as she rocked her Royal charge, this ballad, the naïve and pleasing air of which made

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a considerable sensation. M. de Chateaubriand (1768-1848), who heard the air sung in the East, was of opinion that it was carried thither in the time of the crusades. The burlesque words were probably spread about various provinces after the Battle of Malplaquet by some of the soldiers of Villars and Boufflers”.

As early as 1706, verses were composed on Marlborough, which were to be found in the manuscript collection of historical songs, in forty-four volumes, made by M. Maurepas, and deposited in the Royal Library. The nurse's song became all the rage at Versailles, whence it reached Paris, and was soon spread over the whole of France. For four or five years nothing was heard but the burthen, “Mironton, Mironton, Mirontaine”. The song was printed upon fans and screens, with an engraving representing the funeral-procession of Marlborough, the lady on her tower, and the page dressed in black, and so on. This engraving was imitated in all shapes and sizes. It circulated through the streets and villages, and gave the Duke of Marlborough a more popular celebrity than all his victories.

It is a fact worth recording, that the song of the page in Beaumarchais' Comedy, *Le Mariage de Figaro*, was written for this air. The dramatic situation in which it occurs has since been illustrated by the music of Mozart.

On the cover of one of several versions of the song, in my possession, is the inscription, “A new invention for one performer, or two performers, on the same harpsichord, or pianoforte, or may be sung by two voices. La Chanson de mi Lord Malbrough : from the original copy sung by the nurse of his Royal Highness the Dauphin of France, with the proper French words, and translation into English, and some variations never before printed, by Thomas Carter”.

The old tune to which the song was sung bears a resemblance to the airs of the well-known refrains, “For he's a jolly good fellow”, and “We won't go home till morning” : but, not of such a character as to suggest that they are the same.

Everybody knows :—

“For he's a jolly good fellow, (three times)
Which nobody can deny”.

Then come variations such as the following ;—

“If he does he tells a lie, (twice)
It's a way we have in the navy,
It's a way we have in the army,
It's a way we have at (the 'Varsity),
Which nobody can deny”. (or, “and so say all of us”).

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And also :—

“ We won’t go home till morning, (twice)
We won’t go home till mor-or-ning,
Till daylight doth appear ”.

Elson in his “*Shakespeare in Music*”, page 233, after stating that many of the ballads which are well known in England to-day have great antiquity, says ‘For he’s a jolly good fellow’, for example, known in America as ‘We won’t go home till morning’, can be traced through the French ‘*Marlbrooke*’ to the old crusader ‘*Mambron*’, and its melody was heard in Palestine in the twelfth century. Oddly enough the tune took root in the East, and can be heard to-day in many an Oriental city. The fellaheen of Egypt claim the tune as their own, and, so it is, if eight centuries of possession can make it so. See Notes and Queries, February 22nd, 1908, page 158.

In the third volume of “*Chants et Chansons populaires de la France, Nouvelle édition* Librairie Garnier frères, 1848”, the first song is “*Mort et Convoi de l’invincible Malbrough*”. Preceding it is a notice by P. L. Jacob, Bibliophile—“*Paul Lacroix, I believe*”, writes Mr. Robert Pierpoint. He says that “*Marlborough*” was composed after the Battle of Malplaquet, in 1709, and not after the death of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough in 1722. Jacob cites, “the ancient legend in prose which accompanies the song, in which it is said that Malbrough was killed at the battle of Malplaquet.” He says that the Duke of Marlborough in this battle almost shared the fate of five of his lieutenants-general, who were killed in the *mêlée*, and that a report of his death having been spread about, some waggish songster made this song as his funeral-oration at Le Quesnoy on the evening of the battle, adding that the Duke’s name was the terror and the admiration of the soldier. The song was preserved by tradition only in some provinces, brought there probably by the soldiers of Villars and Boufflers, till in 1791 Madame Poitrine, the peasant-nurse of the Dauphin, used to sing it by the royal cradle. The Queen, the King, the Court, and the servants at Versailles sang it. It spread all over France, and became popular in England.

Beaumarchais, in his ‘*Mariage de Figaro*’, made Chérubin sing the air of ‘*Marlborough*’, substituting for the old refrain ‘*Mironton, mironton, mirontaine*’, this verse, “*Que mon cœur, que mon cœur, a de peine !*” In London, a French gentleman wanting his driver to take him to Marlborough Street, and having forgotten the name, sang the air of “*Marlborough*”, and the driver understood what he wanted.

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In April, 1920, the Russian General Denikin, then in London, was asked to write, in Roman characters, the name of the British warship which had brought him part of his journey. It was the Super-Dreadnought Marlborough, of the Battle of Jutland fame, and he wrote—on French lines—*Malbarouch*.

In France, the name was given to fashions, dress-materials, styles of hair-dressing, etc. It was printed on screens and on fans, embroidered on tapestry, and furniture, etc. Nothing but the fall of the Bastille could stifle the echo of the song. Later, Napoleon, notwithstanding his antipathy to music, used to hum or sing it whenever he mounted his horse at the beginning of a campaign.

Jacob is inclined to believe, with Chateaubriand, that the air was probably sung by the Crusaders of Godfrey de Bouillon under the walls of Jerusalem. He says that "the Arabs sing it, saying that their ancestors learned it at the Battle of Massoure (query, Mansurah, April 5th, 1250), where the Sire de Joinville's companions-in-arms repeated it as they clashed their shields, and raised the national war-cry "*Montjoie Saint-Denis*".

The spelling of the name in the song, and its title, is "*Marlbrough*". Jacob uses that spelling when referring to it, though, when naming the Duke, or the street, he has "*Marlborough*". See *Notes and Queries*, February 22nd, 1908, page 158. And, as *Le Petit Larousse illustré* states, *son nom est devenu légendaire, grâce à la chanson burlesque dont il est le héros, sous le nom dénaturé de Marlborough*, thanks to the song, the name has become legendary.

Gustave Masson, in his anthology "*La Lyre Française*", who gives the date of the *Marlbrough*-song as 1709, prints a historical song, "*La Mort du Duc de Guise*", referring probably to that Duke who was assassinated by Poltrot de Méré in 1533, beginning :—

Qui veut oïr chanson ?
C'est du grand duc de Guise,
Et bon, bon, bon, bon,
Di, dan, di dan, don.
C'est du grand duc de Guise.

And the following note is appended ;—

"This curious song, which we transcribe from M. Charles Nisard's '*Chansons populaires*' (Vol. I., pages 303, 304), was originally published in the '*Recueil des Pièces intéressantes*' of La Place (Vol. II. page 247). It is remarkably like the famous dirge on *Marlborough*". See *Notes and Queries*, November 30th, 1907, page 435.

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The following version of the Marlborough-song is copied from "La Lyre Francaise" of Gustave Masson. For the sake of brevity, only the first and last stanzas are given in their entirety, the second line in each stanza being "Mironton, mironton, mirontaine", which is an imitation of the sound of a clarion, made with a hand placed before the mouth, and the third line being a repetition of the first :—

MORT ET CONVOI DE L'INVINCIBLE MARLBROUGH.

Marlbrough s'en va-t-en guerre,
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine,
Marlbrough s'en va-t-en guerre,
Ne sait quand reviendra.

Il reviendra z-à Pâques,
Ou à la Trinité.

La Trinité se passe,
Marlbrough ne revient pas.

Madame à sa tour monte,
Si haut qu'ell' peut monter.

Elle aperçoit son page,
Tout de noir habillé.

Beau page, ah ! mon beau page,
Quell' nouvelle apportez ?

Aux novell's que j'apporte,
Vos beaux yeux vont pleurer.

Quittez vos habits roses,
Et vos satins brochés.

Monsieur Marlborough est mort,
Est mort et enterré.

J'l'ai vu porter en terre,
Par quatre z-officiers.

L'un portait sa cuirasse,
L'autre son bouclier.

L'un portait son grand sabre,
L'autre ne portait rien.

À l'entour de sa tombe,
Romarins l'on planta.

Sur la plus haute branche,
Le rossignol chanta.

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On vit voler son âme,
Au travers des lauriers.
Chacun mit ventre à terre.
Et puis se releva.
Pour chanter les victoires,
Que Marlborough remporta.
La cérémonie faite,
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine,
La cérémonie faite,
Chacun s'en fut coucher.

The song is given by Monsieur Gustave Masson as anonymous, and dated 1709.

There are various editions, and that in "Chants et Chansons Populaires de la France", published by Garnier frères, contains the following four additional stanzas. No doubt, stanzas were added from time to time, temporarily, after the style of our verses called Limericks.

Les uns avec leurs femmes,
Et les autres tout seuls.
Ce n'est pas qu'il en manque,
Car j'en connais beaucoup.
Des blondes et des brunes,
Et des chataign's aussi.
J'n'en dis pas davantage,
Car en voilà z-assez.

In the "Songs of France", by the late Father Prout, Parish Priest of Watergrashill, in the County of Cork, a short version of the French song is given, with a very free English translation, and it is described as "of the lamentable death of the illustrious John Churchill, which did *not* take place, by some mistake, but was nevertheless celebrated". It is, however, scarcely worth a reference.

I submit the following translation of the recognised eighteen stanzas, already quoted :—

MARLBROUGH.

Gone to the war is Marlborough,
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine,
Gone to the war is Marlborough,
Knows not when he will return.

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He will return at Easter,
Or else at Trinity.

But, Trinity is over,
And yet he's not come back.

Madame has climbed her turret,
As high as she can climb.

And thence she sees her page-boy,
In clothes of black he's clad.

My page, my page, so handsome,
What tidings dost thou bring ?

Ah! Lady! At my tidings,
Your lovely eyes will weep.

Put off those coloured garments,
And also your brocades.

Dead is my Lord of Marlborough,
He's dead, and in his grave.

Four officers, I saw them,
Did lay him in the ground.

His breastplate bore the first one,
The second bore his shield.

His great sword bore the third one,
The fourth bore naught at all.

His tomb they have surrounded,
With plants of rose-maree.

The nightingale was singing,
Upon the topmost bough.

And through the laurel-branches,
We saw his soaring soul.

Each one to earth fell prostrate,
And then stood up again,

To sing about the battles,
Which Marlborough had won.

The ceremony ended,
Mironton, mironton, mirontaine,
The ceremony ended,
They all went off to bed.

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The Breton peasants believe that the soul rises to heaven in the form of a bird. See "Songs of old France", by Percy Allen, page 21. There are many references to the song in "Notes and Queries". Perhaps the most useful are those by Mr. Robert Pierpoint, one of my colleagues in the House of Commons, the Member of Parliament for Warrington from 1892 to 1906. He alludes to the alleged Oriental origin of both the words and the tune in a letter signed Louis Creswicke, which appeared in the "Sunday Times" of July 1st, 1894, in which the writer gave the "original Arabic words written for me by an Arab", or rather the first stanza :—

Mabrook saffur lel harbi
Ya lail-ya lail-ya laila
Mabrook saffur lel harbi
Woo-ela metta yerjaā
Woo-ela metta yerja-ya lail
Woo-ela metta yerjaā.

In the "Sunday Times" of August 5th, 1894, is a letter signed H. Droop Richmond, giving this translation of it :—

Mabrook journeys to the war,
Ya lail-ya lail-ya laila,
Mabrook journeys to the war,
Who knows when he'll return ?
etc., etc.

As to the second line, Mr. Richmond says that it "does not appear to have any definite meaning". These Arabic words, however, prove nothing about an Oriental origin, as they were supplied to Mr. Creswicke some time in the nineteenth century. See Notes and Queries, December, 1917, page 515 et seq.:

Frédéric Masson, in "Napoléon à Sainte-Hélène", published in 1912, of which I am the happy possessor of No. 78 of the 300 copies which were printed, in the account of the last few days of Napoleon makes the following statement, pages 198-200, relating to April 15th, shortly before the death of Napoleon, which occurred on Saturday, May 5th, 1821 :—

"Ce jour-là, lorsque le docteur Arnott vient le voir, il lui parle des généraux qui ont commandé les armées anglaises. et il fait l'éloge de Marborough, dont il a eu l'intention de commenter les campagnes. . . . Il demande au docteur Arnott si la bibliothèque du 20^e régiment possède l'histoire de ce général. Arnott ayant répondu qu'il n'en est pas sûr, l'Empereur envoie Marchand prendre l'ouvrage à sa

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bibliothèque. C'est un exemplaire, relié avec luxe, de cette Histoire de Jean Churchill, duc de Marlborough, etc., etc., imprimée par ordre de Sa Majesté Impériale (à Paris, de l'Imprimerie impériale, l'année 1806). La remise de ce livre provoqua d'autres histoires. Antommarchi avait ri, et l'Empereur l'avait regardé d'un œil sévère ; il lui adressa le lendemain de vifs reproches sur la légèreté de son caractère. Le docteur chercha à s'excuser sur le souvenir qu'avait fait naître en lui une chanson avec laquelle il avait été bercé. Sur le moment Napoléon n'insista pas. Pourtant, il était peu vraisemblable qu'on chantât en patois corse Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre".

[TRANSLATION].

That day, April 15th, 1821, when Dr. Arnott came to see him, he spoke about the Generals who had commanded the English Armies, and he praised Marlborough upon whose campaigns he had had the intention of writing a commentary. He asked Dr. Arnott if the library of the 20th Regiment contained a history of that General. Arnott having replied that he was not certain, the Emperor sent Marchand to get the work from his library. It was a copy, specially bound, of the History of John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, etc., etc., etc., printed by order of His Imperial Majesty at the Imperial Press, Paris, in the year 1806. From the handing over of that book hangs a tale. Dr. Antommarchi had smiled: the Emperor had looked at him severely, and the next day he took him to task for his levity. The Doctor tried to excuse himself by pleading that the gift had reminded him of a song he had heard in his cradle. Napoleon did not press the point. It is somewhat probable, however that the song was in Corsican patois "Malbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre"

The gift was, as a matter of fact, Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", published in 1819, and the three volumes of it are now in the possession of the 1st Battalion of the Lancashire Fusiliers. Francesco Antommarchi, born in Corsica, was physician to Napoleon, and Archibald Arnott was the surgeon to the Twentieth Regiment of Foot, now the Lancashire Fusiliers, quartered at the time at St. Helena.

CHAPTER VI.

MARSHAL SOULT.

THE connection of the XX. Regiment with Napoleon and St. Helena resulted in an offer of hospitality from the Colonel and Officers when, like Marshal Foch in 1919, Marshal Soult paid a visit to England, upwards of eighty years ago, of which a short account may not, at the present moment, be without interest¹.

Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, Marshal of France, was born at Saint Amand-la-Bastide (Tarn), on March 29th, 1769, the year of the births of Napoleon, Ney and Wellington. He was of Hebrew extraction, like some of the other Napoleonic marshals, such as Masséna, whose real name was Manasseh. In 1804, he was made one of the first Marshals created by Napoleon, who conferred upon him also a dukedom for the victory at Austerlitz, and for his services in Spain. In 1838, he was appointed by Louis Philippe Ambassador-Extraordinary at the coronation of Queen Victoria. At a grand review held in Hyde Park on July 9th, of that year, as recorded by the late Mr. John Sainsbury, one of his stirrups broke, when, by strange good luck, the Government saddler was able to supply him with a pair which had been worn by the Emperor Napoleon.

In "A History of Our Own Times", Mr. Justin McCarthy says that the opponent of Moore and Wellington, in the Peninsula, and "one of the strong arms of Napoleon at Waterloo", was the most conspicuous figure in the Coronation procession, and nothing could exceed the enthusiasm with which the white-haired soldier was received by the crowds in the streets of London. He appeared in the procession in a carriage, the frame of which had been used on occasions of State by some of the Princes of the House of Condé, which he had had decorated splendidly for the ceremony. Soult felt very warmly the genuine kindness of the reception, and became immediately a warm partisan of the English alliance.

Years after, in a debate in the French Chamber, when accused of too much partiality for England, Marshal Soult declared himself a strong champion of the alliance, "I fought the English down to Toulouse",

¹ This chapter appeared in a condensed form in Baily's Magazine for October, 1919. Marshal Foch, in acknowledging the receipt of a copy, wrote from Quartier Général, Commandement en Chef des Armées Alliées, on October 10th, 1919, accepting it with best thanks—avec tous ses remerciements.

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he said, "when I fired the last cannon in defence of the national independence ; in the meantime, I have been in London, and France knows the reception which I had there. The English themselves cried ' Vive Soult ! '—they cried ' Soult for ever ! '. I have learnt to estimate them in peace, and I repeat that I am a warm partisan of the English alliance ". Probably the cheers of the London crowd did something substantial towards restoring the good feeling between Great Britain and France.

The " Times " of July, 1838, frequently refers to grand banquets, balls and suppers in honour of our visitor, and among names of conspicuous hosts are those of Queen Victoria, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the Duke of Wellington, and Sir Robert and Lady Peel.

Soult visited the Mansion House, the Guildhall, the British Museum, the National Gallery, the Docks, Windsor, etc. Among other tours of inspection, he made a journey to the north, visiting between July 20th and the 24th, Manchester and Liverpool, the Menai Bridge, Dudley Castle, and Birmingham. He travelled by the newly-opened London and Birmingham Railway, now the London and North-Western Railway, which on April 9th, 1838, was opened between London and Denbigh Hall, a hamlet about two miles north of Bletchley Station, a distance of about 50 miles, and also between Rugby and Birmingham, a distance of about 30 miles. Owing to the delay in completing Kilsby tunnel and Roade cutting, that portion of the line could not be used until September 17th, and coaches were run between Denbigh Hall and Rugby, hundreds of horses being employed on the work. The last brick of the Kilsby tunnel was laid in June, 1838. The first railway serving the Metropolis was opened on December 14th, 1837, and by the middle of the forties London had no fewer than ten termini.

On July 20th, 1838, at 4-30 a.m., Soult with his suite, including his son the Marquis of Dalmatia, and his son-in-law the Marquis of Mornay, left Euston by special train on his visit to the North. Denbigh Hall was reached in about 90 minutes, whence he was driven by coach to Rugby, a total distance of $82\frac{1}{2}$ miles, arriving there at 9 a.m., and breakfasting at the station.

On his return-journey, the Marshal visited Birmingham, and neighbouring towns, seeing the manufacture of goods from the raw material to the finish, even the manufacture of British guns, with the efficiency of which, as the " Times " remarked, he was already well acquainted. The last place visited there was the Town Hall, which was packed with people, who cheered him to the echo, while, among other airs played upon the organ was the famous song of Marlborough.

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The reception was followed by a grand banquet, at which, after the loyal toasts, Marshal Soult, in responding to that of his health, said, "the honours I receive at this moment touch me the more deeply and sensibly, because they only confirm the opinion I had always entertained of the greatness, the hospitality, and the magnanimity of the English people. For many years past, I have highly esteemed the British nation. I have learned to respect them in the field of battle. I found in your great commander, the Duke of Wellington, a generous enemy: although we fought against each other for many years. . . . I feel that there was nothing of personal animosity between us in that war. At the present time, I present myself to you under a different character. I come as the bearer of words of peace: and, that peace, if my wishes can accomplish it, will last eternally. Henceforward, there is no possibility of a war between France and England."

A long account of the journey appears in the "Coventry Herald and Observer" of the time.

I have in my possession a letter dated March 15th, 1916, from the late Mr. Theodore Mark Wratishaw, of 11 St. Andrew's Street, Rugby, who died on April 5th, 1919, in his eighty-eighth year, in which he says that he was taken to the station, being then about six years old, to see the marshal, his mother being invited by those in charge of the arrangements to bring her silver tea-pot to make tea for him.

For information about the Wratishaw family, I am indebted to Mr. H. Lodge of Rugby, F. White & Company's "Warwickshire", and "Chapters from the History of Rugby School" by Lieutenant-Colonel Sydney Selfe. The Wratishaw family, the title being Count Wratishawia, is descended from the founder of the City of Prague, who died A.D. 697, and it held the throne of Bohemia until A.D. 1310. Apparently, while the family was on the throne of Bohemia, several Counts of Hapsburgh, descendants of Ethica, Duke of Elsas (Alsace), A.D. 700, were their masters of the horse, and from them is descended the Earl of Denbigh. The two families became refugees in England, and, strange to relate, the Wratishaw and Denbigh families are settled now side by side in the same County—after a lapse of seven or eight centuries, the descendants of Kings as county-gentlemen, the descendants of their masters of the horse as peers of the realm. The Count Wratishaw of about 1705 was a friend of Marlborough.

In the Officers' Mess of the 1st Battalion, the Lancashire Fusiliers, kept with the three volumes of Coxe's "Life of Marlborough", which Napoleon gave to the 20th Regiment at St. Helena, is the following letter from Marshal Soult, as follows:—

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Rugeby (*sic*), le 20 Juillet, 1838.

Monsieur le Commandant,

J'ai été infiniment sensible à mon passage à Weedon, aux honneurs que vous avez voulu me faire rendre ; s'il m'avait été possible de m'arrêter quelques moments, j'aurais été heureux de les passer avec vous et M^{rs} les officiers sous vos ordres.

Mais, pressé d'arriver pour prendre le chemin de fer, je n'ai pu suspendre ma marche.

Je saisis le premier instant dont je puis disposer pour vous témoigner, Monsieur le Commandant, les regrets que j'en ai éprouvés et mes remerciements les plus sincères.

Ayez la bonté de faire part de ma lettre à M^{rs} vos officiers en leur exprimant les sentiments de confraternité qui m'animent pour l'armée anglaise,

Agréez, Monsieur le Commandant, l'assurance de ma considération la plus distinguée.

M^l Duc de Dalmatie.

[TRANSLATION].

Rugby, July 20th, 1838.

Monsieur le Commandant,

I have appreciated highly the honour which you wished to show me on my way to Weedon. If it had been possible to stay for a few moments, I should have been happy to have spent them with you and your officers. But, being pressed for time to catch the train, I could not break my journey.

I take the earliest opportunity of expressing to you, Sir, the regret I feel, and my most sincere thanks. Pray be so kind as to communicate my letter to your officers, and at the same time assure them of the friendly feelings which I entertain for the British Army.

Accept, Monsieur le Commandant, the assurance of my greatest respect.

(Signed) M^l Duc de Dalmatie.

The Regiment had been at the Tower, where it received the Marshal, with other ambassadors, and it had gone from London to Weedon, whence an invitation had been sent to Marshal Soult to visit the Colonel and Officers there.

Soult was Minister of War, and Minister of Foreign Affairs under Louis Philippe, by whom he was appointed President of the Council in 1839. In 1848, when Louis Philippe was overthrown, he became a Republican : he died in 1851.

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The word "Marshal" is derived from the old high German *Marah*, a horse, and *Scalc*, a servant. Originally, he was a manager of horses, and then, as King's Marshal, one of the principal officers of State. The title of Field Marshal was adopted in England in 1736.

When, on December 26th, 1916, General Joffre was appointed a Marshal, he became the 325th of the famous "*Maréchaux de France*". A general of supreme genius, his name will be associated always with the Battle of the Marne—the turning-point in the Great War—and the Battle of the Yser, whence he arose as the Saviour of France. After 1814, only seven appointments were made, the last being that of Marshal MacMahon, President of the French Republic. A similar appointment has not been made since 1870, although an offer was declined by General Chanzy, for the reason that "the high dignity of *Maréchal* should be reserved for a victorious general, who has had the honour to command in a war of revenge".

According to a correspondent in the "*Morning Post*" for December 28th, 1916, the post of *Maréchal* dates back to 1185, when the function of the officer holding it was to look after the horses of his Prince, and the word is still used in an analogous sense in the term *maréchal ferrant*, or, shoeing-smith. The first holder was Alberic Clément, Lord of Metz. At the outset there was only one holder of the office, but the number gradually changed, and at the time of the Revolution there were fifteen, or sixteen, Marshals. They were suppressed by the Convention of 1793, but re-established by Napoleon in 1804, when, to be awarded the title, it was necessary to have won two pitched battles, or to have captured two fortresses. The title was then *Maréchal de l'Empire*, but this was changed by the Restoration to that of *Maréchal de France*. In 1839, the statutory number of Marshals was six, with the possibility of their number being doubled in time of war, and this regulation is theoretically still in force. The appointment is for life. There is only one instance of the holder being deprived of his office, that of Moncey, who was struck off the list in 1815, for refusing to preside over the court-martial appointed to try Ney—" *le brave des braves* "—the bravest of the brave.

Joffre fought as a Lieutenant in 1870. Later, he served in the French Colonies, and the Soudan, as an Empire-builder. In 1911, he was given the supreme post of Commander-in-Chief in time of War, and Chief-of-the-Staff in time of peace, when he spared no work or trouble in bringing the French Army into its present wonderful state of efficiency.

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Orderly Officer at Longwood, Saint Helena : Feb. 1820 to Nov. 1823

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